ADVANCED ESSAYS

(Spur to Thinking)

FOR COMPETITIVE EXAMS

By

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PREFACE TO THE [illegible] [illegible]

The purpose of writing an essay at Various [illegible] Exams. is manifold. One of the most [illegible] whether the students can apply their theoretical [illegible] cal affairs. So essay must be afloat in the present [illegible] political, social or economic. I find that many [illegible] dealing with a current topic ignore the latest [illegible] regard to that topic. In the 1979 edition of this [illegible] completely overhauled some of the topics [illegible] have been brought uptodate. I must thank the [illegible] ungrudgingly accepted my proposal of revising the whole of the book instead of just adding a few topics as it is [illegible] by other publishers.

5/19 East Patel Nagar,
New Delhi.

CONTENTS

Current Topics

Indian Problems

Essays on Quotations

ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY IN AN UNDEVELOPED COUNTRY

In a democratic state Ministers may not necessarily be matured administrators Most of them do not know anything about the the administrative process and also the administrative details. Simi-

[illegible]

by his own likes and dislikes.

[illegible]

with dire consequences and they are made to do certain things which are not in the public interest For example, during [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

one or the other policy on the basis of their ideologies Sometimes they may also be required to work for the policy enunciated by the

[illegible]

[illegible] one,

if the real power of bureaucracy is lost. If they have to fritter away their energies, they may get lost in the labyrinth of recommendations and su [illegible] themselves helpless, after electin[illegible] [illegible]ast for a period of five years, [illegible] Under such circums[illegible] [illegible] elected representative may adopt [illegible] of the citizens. [illegible] programmes and [illegible] programmes which [illegible] strengthen those by which the [illegible]

[illegible]

line of a particular state organ. It seems it is the sheer inertia that has made the Indian bureaucracy to continue with the legacy inherited from the British Raj [illegible] position because their rights [illegible] The American bureaucrat has [illegible] own assessment of the prevailing culture and the wishes of the [illegible] [illegible]ucrats willy nilly has to accept [illegible]hich directly changes as per [illegible] bureaucracy can seek guidance [illegible] Policy enshrined in the Indian [illegible]al material to guide him in [illegible]tion and execution of policies. [illegible]on, bureaucracy will have to

Another role which Indian bure[illegible] [illegible]ring about the social change[illegible] will remain static. But if the [illegible] to its own internal affairs, the growth might not be purposive and

demanding integrity and honesty of purpose which imply detachment and unselfish approach.

PROPOSALS FOR ELECTION REFORMS

Indiscriminate adoption of democratic form of Government has made it more or less a farce In fact for the proper working [illegible] well organized opposition, [illegible] above all, proper type of [illegible] society are necessary. All of these factors, taken together are necessary because these constitute the props of the super-structure of democratic organisation. In a country like India representation to all the interests of the different sections of society is necessary because here people belonging to different religions, castes, languages and even traditions live. At the time of elections it is often observed that the different [illegible] in order to suit the interests of the [illegible]

[illegible]

ber coinstituency system. [illegible] elections the Congress Part [illegible] has been the majority party. This type of representation meas that the interest of all the people are not represented and the Government is not truly representative Government. That is why the need for electoral reforms was felt. Before the

imposition of [illegible] presented a memorand[illegible] reforms As [illegible] was not accep[illegible] to reform the [illegible] promises that the Union Cabinet Committee on Electoral Reforms is at work. It is proposed that the proposals of the Cabinet Committee will be discussed with the leaders of the oppositional parties before they are placed before the Parliament in the form of a Bill. Janata Party in its election manifesto had promised "to introduce electoral reforms after a careful consideration of the suggestions made by various Committees including Tarkunde Committee........"

It has been pointed out that three proposals are receiving the attention of the Government. First of all whether proportion[illegible] not. Secondly, how elections [illegible] [wh]ether the voting age should

[illegible] [sing]le-member consti- [illegible] who is able to get [illegible] has been pointed out that the elected candidate may secure even 30% votes whereas the defeated candidates taken together might have polled 70% votes. It implies that the elected candidate represents only 30% of the voters. This means that the Parliament itself is not truly representative. So the Cabinet Committee is examining proportional representation as a substitute for the existing system. They are examining List System of the kind obtainable in West Germany and it is generally thought that the [illegible]

[illegible] lead to [illegible] Commis- [illegible] national [illegible] single- [illegible] today. [illegible] a fair representation of the views of the people in Parliament". They [illegible] say that proportional represen- [illegible] and social collapse. They say [illegible] [count]ries, except France and Britain, have adopted one or the other form of proportional representation and their economic performance has been superior to that of France and England. They refu[illegible] sentation involves a proli[illegible] the perpetual changes of [illegible] They say that it totall[illegible]

representation and also on the social and political culture of that country. So all the arguments against ... have been adequately answered i... is way it is generally thought ... be the most suitable form of elec... ... in India.

Tarkunde Committee has suggested a little variation of proportional representation. According to it only a candidate who wins more than 50% of the valid votes in the constituency, could be declared elected The rest will be filled not by direct elections but in proportion to the votes polled by the political parties from out of the party list of candidates published in advance. This system retains the single-member constituency and introduces the minimum change to correct distortions. The distribution from the list is done in such a manner that the total strength of the party in the legislature will be ... polled by it. Hansard Society's C... singe-member constituency but ... three quarter of the members of the House of Commons will be directly elected from the first-past-the-post system In order to remove the distortions of the results of theses seats, additional seats will be allotted to the parties according to a formula which is quite complicated. So Tarkunde Committee's proposals are more simple and relevant to Indian conditions.

While making these changes some of the observations of the Hansard Society's Commission report submitted in June, 1976, must be kept in mind. It pointed out with particular reference to Indian situation, that a government ... ith a dependable majority ... So it is necessary that ... is type of minority rule. ... system has made it possible for the ... 2/3rd majority of the member ... less than 50% of the voters. Not ... the truth of Mr. Churchill's statement which he made in 1931, "No Government which is in minority in the country even though it possesses a working majority in the House of Commons can have the necessary power to cope with real problem". In fact political stability is the product of healthy viable party system.

The second problem ...

... expense ... Election Expenses was also set up by Citizens for Democracy, which reported detailed recommendations. Their recommendations are modest and of practicable

nature. In 1974, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of K.C. Gupta Versus Amar Nath Chawla that the expenditure incurred by the Political Party *in connection with the election of a candidate,* has distinguished from expenditure on general party propaganda must be included in his election expenses as being impliedly authorised by him. The ruling was nullified by amending the law. In fact this is a relevant ruling and amendment must be deleted. The most important part of the matter is party finances. The Election Commission some time back recommended that even Political Parties should be called upon to account for the expenses [illegible] rate of election expenses *is going far above from the ceiling* fixed and the candidates who are not sponsored by political parties are comparatively at much disadvantage. Unless the political parties are asked to account for their expenses, itwill be sheer nonsense to make any other reform. Money power in the elections has also made a channel for the black-money to flow. This has resulted in imbalancing the whole economy of India.

Reducing the age for the eligible voters would be quite a difficult job. It would mean the participation of a very large number *of people in the elections. Consequently, the elections will* become unmanagable and would also involve a huge expenditure. Moreover, reducing the voting age to 18 would mean that even the school and college students will be taking part in elections. That will again mean bringing politics to universities, colleges and the schools. *So it is generally agreed that at least for the elections of* the Parliament and the legislatures the voting age should not be reduced. *If* Indian democracy is to survive and if it is to create confidence among the people, it is necessary that electoral reforms should be brought.

INDIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

International politics today is manipulated in a manner that *through the neighbours trouble is created in the States.* India has been experiencing this type of diplomacy when Pakistan mounted attacks many a time. If neighbours are out to create trouble they can prove extremely dangerous. China and Pakistan in collusion with each other have been trying to train Nagas and Mizos against India. Consequently very unstable conditions were created in some of the provinces of India. So it became extremely necessary for India to have friendly relations with the neighbouring countries. Otherwise also this policy of friendliness stems out of the policy of non-alignment. Janata Government has always been talking of

India and Burma

External Affairs Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee's visit to Burma

border in the near future which

Government. India, however, kept the Burmese government informed.

India had assured economic and technical assistance to Burma which is now discarding its policy of isolation. A composite Burmese technical and scientific delegation has been invited to visit India. Following this an Indian industrial and economic delegation will visit Burma.

India and Afghanistan :

... the External Affairs Minister, ... the Afghan leaders ... o promote trust and ... operation in the eco... o new areas. Afgha... two projects already ... head. It is envisaged ... One of the joint ventures is a Child Health ... in Kabul; now it is proposed that an Ear, Nose and Throat Centre will also be set up. The two countries agreed to increase trade but it was possible if Pakistan allowed overland transit facilities. At present the cargo consignments go through the congested Karachi port. At Bamiya, ... have been working for the last number of years. ... in technoeco...

... reveal an identity of views ... existed between the two countries ... covered many other interna...

... promoting understanding among ... that mutually beneficial technical ... the non-aligned States should be ... they also deplored that Israel conti... esolution and the latest example of creating settlements on occupied ... supported the idea of solidarity

speedy establishment of a new economic order as to bridge the gap between the industrialised and the developing countries.

India and Nepal :

Mr. Vajpayee, during his visit to Nepal, discussed the entire gammit of relations [illegible] discussed were Dr. [illegible] campaign in a section [illegible] harnessing of water resources for the mutual benefit.

With regard to Dr. Giri's hasty over-reaction to the news published in the section of the Indian press the External Affairs Minister told the leaders of Nepal that Indian press enjoyed complete freedom and if this section of the Indian people or press said some thing which was not liked by the Government of Nepal, should be ignored. They were assured that India will not permit hostile activity against a friendly nation from its soil It is no secret that Mr. B P. Koirala who has been detained in Nepal has been pretty close to Indian socialist leaders for the past three decades. But the misunderstanding caused between the two countries by the unwarranted remarks of Dr. Tulsi Giri has been largely dissipated by the King of Nepal to release Mr. Koirala.

The other major issue discussed was the five year old treaty on trade and transit which expired in August 1976. However trade exchanges continued to be in force. The terms of a new accord had almost been finalised. Talks are to be held for concluding the treaty. Both sides noticed that much progress had been achieved on the projects which have been undertaken for harnessing water resources. India agreed to consider proposals on Devighat, Karnali, Pancheshwar and Rapti river projects in the kingdom.

Nepalese proposal concerning the establishment of a zone of peace figured in the discussions. India remained indifferent to the proposal but the Janata Government has agreed to consider the suggestion against the background of the Nepal Government's renewed commitment to the treaty of peace and friendship between the two countries. Mr. Vajpayee pointed out that India's efforts were to see that the entire sub-continent was a zone of peace.

Indian and Bhutan :

The king of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuk, paid a 5 day visit to India in April to discuss Indo-Bhutanese relations. There are no problems between the two countries but the King wanted to be assured of India's continued assistance. The King utilised this opportunity to seek clarification of the new Government's attitude towards

Bhutan's bid to diversify its economic contacts with the outside world without prejudice to its treaty relationship which *provide for India's.* guidance in the conduct of foreign. The Janata Government re-affirmed India's friendship and brotherhood with Bhutan.

India and Sri Lanka :

Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, hailed the victory of the United National Party led by Mr. Jayewardene in the general elections held in Sri Lanka in July. He congratulated the people of Sri Lanka for this peaceful change calling it "another triumph in democracy". In fact there is much parallel between the political changes in the two countries; so it is hoped that India and Sri Lanka would come still closer. It is thought that the shock election results in India cast a shadow over Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party. The ruling party in Sri Lanka had played down the defeat of the ruling party in India

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over

her s

origin

India has been trying her best to improve her relations with

efforts are going to be made by the two countries for improving their

Charter that war beigns in the minds of men and if India is making a sincere effort in improving her relation with her neighbours, the efforts will definitely bear fruit. Otherwise also it is in larger interest of all the countries of sub-continent.

11

"NEW" EDUCATION POLICY

The Janata Governments' pledge to "restructure" the threetier-formal education pattern of 10+2+3 have been a waste of time—their own and the nation's. At various times, the 10+2+3 set-up was assailed by the Centre, even as more and more states began to enforce it. Dr. Chunder complained about the excessive "load" that school children had to bear throughout the 10 year school and a committee, headed by Mr. Ishwarbhai Patel, was appointed to re-examine the syllabus. Another committee, this one chaired by Dr. Malcom Adiseshiah, went into the +2 curriculum with particular reference to vocational courses As for the +3 university phase, that was left to the UGC to work out.

Both the Patel and Adiseshiah committees were required to cover much the same ground that had earlier been trodden by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT). When the previous Congress government set about introducing 10+2+3 that body had been asked to produce broad curricula for the 10-year school and the +2 phase. These it came out with in 1975 and 1976. It also brought out a series of publications in 1976 containing detailed syllabi for various classes.

Along came the new government, eager to sweep the past away with a broom. It decided that the 10+2+3 structure was not good enough and that it would have its own committees to make recommendations to it, even if in the process they did not go substantially beyond what had already been done. In practical terms, this came down to talking about another formula, 8+4+3, with a variation, 7+5+3. It also meant the appointment of the Patel and Adiseshiah committees.

So what have these 16 months of ostentatious activity brought forth ? What is the "new" policy which has been agreed upon at the conference of education ministers from the Centre, the states and the Union Territories held in the middle of July in New Delhi ?

It is, if the truth is to be bared, nothing but 10+2+3. Of course, that is not how Dr. Chunder is interpreting it. If the Union education ministry is to be believed, school education will now comprise elementary, secondary and higher secondary stages of over 12 years—which is precisely what it was in the first place. The Union education ministry is trying to make out that it is a new pattern made up of 8+2+2+3 (it is remarkably inventive of formulate :) It contends that elementary education will last seven or eight years, secondary education three or two years and higher secondary education two years. If a state makes elementary education last seven years and secondary three, then the pattern becomes 7+3+2+3.

The ministry maintains that the idea of this break-up is to ensure that the directive principle of state policy obliging the state to provide "free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years" is honoured. But if a state decides to have only seven years of elementary education, which it is going to be allowed to do, then this will amount to honouring the directive principle only partially because, assuming that children enter school at six, they will receive elementary education only until they are 13 years old. So the ministry is just tying itself up in knots

In any case, it sought to establish, quite falsely, that the constitutional directive could not have been honoured if the 10-year school had not been broken up into either 8+2 or 7+3. The fact is that as the Education Commission, on the basis of whose report 10+2+3 was conceived, envisaged the pattern of schooling, there was to be primary or elementary education for the first seven or eight years to be followed by three or two years of secondary education to be followed, in turn, by two years of higher secondary education. At the end of class seven or eight, class 10 and class 12, education would be terminal at each of these stages for a percentage of students who would start work, while another section would, again at each of these three stages, take up vocational courses, the rest, a progressively dwindling number, persisting with academic learning leading up to university and beyond.

In other words, the "new" break-up of 8+2+2+3 (or 7+3+2+3) is purely illusory. It is simply that the government cannot bring itself to admit that, after 16 months of seeming rethinking during which it caused teachers, parents, students and managements to end of anxiety, it has returned to the original starting-point. Dr. Chunder has told the Rajya Sabha that already 26 states and Union territories are enforcing 10+2+3. He has also told it that the national education policy would emphasise changing the content of education rather than its structure. The education secretary, Mr. Sabanayagam, has had the call to say that "figures have caused a lot of confusion", which will go down as the under-statement of the year. Reading between the lines, these remarks are an implicit admission that the 16-month search for a new formula to replace 10+2+3 has been futile and finally abandoned.

[illegible] on tenterhooks not [illegible] since education had [illegible] emergency and the Janata government did not seem too keen to return it to the states (the question has yet to be decided,) the Union education ministry should have pressed ahead with enforcing 10+2+3 with whatever modifications it felt was necessary. Even so, it can make up for lost time. The proposals of the Ishwarbhai Patel committee, except for those concerning alternative courses for mathematics and

science—the NCERT is to study this recommendation further..., have been accepted and should be rapidly introduced.

The call for reducing primary school hours to not more than three a day, promoting students automatically up to class eight, spending half the time throughout primary school in "productive and creative activities", prescribing fewer textbooks and studying fewer [illegible] and art with general educti [illegible] productive work" (a clums [illegible] ool, which is actually just a glorified version of the "work experience" for which the original 10-year school curriculum had provided.

But much more important is getting on with vocationalisation. For it is on the success with which higher secondary education is vocationalised that the future of the whole formal education structure depends. Too much time has gone by without anything substantial being achieved in this area in any state in the country. For example, not even four per cent of some 700 schools affiliated to the Central Board of Secondary Education have a vocational stream. Only one out of 133 Central schools (Kendriya Vidyalayas) provides vocational courses at the +2 stage. In the capital itself, out of about 400 government schools, a mere 17 are offering vocational courses at that stage.

The Adiseshiah committee had said that "if good urban schools, which are usually the pace-setters of book based learning, do not offer any vocational courses, despite their learning attainments under socially useful productive work, vocationalisation may come to be classed as not being the hallmark of first-rank schools". But how many such schools are offering vocational courses?

NUCLEAR POLICY OF INDIA

[illegible] ted out hat [illegible] for the eace [illegible] om the olicy [illegible] have a nucle [illegible] whether this policy has been adopted to get nuclear fuel from America or it is an enunciation of the changed policy. To all intents and purposes it seems to be a shift in the policy of the government. The Prime Minister is a Gandhite so he wants to the Gandhian principle of non-violence. He believes just like Gandhiji that the noblest end is gone if violence is resorted to achieve it. The pursuit of truth with courage and sacrifice—satyagrah—was for Gandhiji not only an article of faith but a guide for practical action.

So the Prime Minister believes that Gandhiji's ideology is inp violence has much relevance to the predicament we are in. If we comprehend the unique crises that we encounter, we must move towards disarmament. He also believes that wars in the past have been fought because nations were ruled with the desire to acquire power domination and material goods from others. So, for the person who has these types of views, nuclear explosions are also a preparation for war. He would like that the people of the world should "beat their swords into plough shares and their spears in to bottles".

This new nuclear policy has been under fire because some of the opposition parties feel that it would weaken India as a country. They say that India enhanced her prestige with the help of nuclear explosions and the nations of the world started thinking that India is also one of the powerful countries of the world. They say that the USA would again start dictating terms and interfering in our internal affairs if we stop making a show of our strength and potentialities in the domain of nuclear energy. They further say that India is capable of becoming a nuclear power and it would balance her strength with China and would keep the hostile activities of Pakistan subdued. Above all they consider that nuclear capability is a matter of status in the world community.

On the other hand the Govt. would like to say that nuclear explosions would be at variance with our general policy i.e. act of non violence and disarmament. Moreover, they say that by nuclear explosion we will be doing a lot of harm to the country. Mr. Morarji Desai in one of his statements has pointed out that Pokhran explosion has done greater harm than the nuclear device which was planted by the Americans at "Nanda Devi". In other words it might prove to be a health hazard and may also be quite dangerous for the people in India because of its radiation. Moreover, it may also drag India into the race of armament and may alienate us from some of the big powers from whom we can easily get a lot of help. Under such circumstances nuclear explosions will harm our basic principles, our interests, our foreign policy, etc.

Still it is wrong to think that nuclear explosion even for the sake of peaceful purposes should not be taken up. The nuclear explosions will definitely help us to increase our knowledge of the nuclear energy and will also provide us the means to utilise it for peaceful purposes. India is already short of energy and if industry is to become the base of our economy, much more energy is needed. The best quality of coal cannot be commercially extracted and the oil is already much short of the required amount. Hydroelectric power on which we have been depending so far is insufficient and undependable. It is insufficient because dams cannot be built anywhere we like to build them. It is undependable because it totally depends upon rains and for that reason it is not possible to

generate electricity equal to the dema[illegible] the country We will have to [illegible] nuclear explosions will help us [illegible] the use of nuclear energy.

Nuclear fuel is necessary for developing our satellite technology because satellite can be shot into the space with the help of it. Satellite for weather forecast [illegible] munication purpos[illegible] ssage over very [illegible] ld almost. Simila[illegible] the power of ener[illegible] le living in the co[illegible] ters.

India has already developed nuclear capability to a great extent and if we just give it up as a matter of policy, I do not think it will be able to help India in developing anything. The nuclear stations are being [illegible]

[illegible] tted to the [illegible] ence India [illegible] cy of non-

[illegible] dangerous trend in our policy towards scientific development.

It is no secret that India has been under pressure on the question of nuclear safeguards. Therefore, the critics of Mr Desai view his declaration as a concession made to the [illegible] fact India has to depend [illegible] water for the Tarapur and [illegible] to make [illegible]

[illegible] mission. Since [illegible] ons will not be made eve[illegible] to supply 7·6 tons of en[illegible] thin the grace period of [illegible] are likely to be cleared. [illegible] t of circumstances an[illegible]

HOW CAN THE PRESS BE PURPOSEFUL ?

Democracy has least to do with the structural aspect ; it is more concerned with developing democratic forces within and

...

nat to the freedom of society or the people whom these are to serve. Unless they guard the freedom of the people and enable

...

pillars because it puts

three organs ... the

... on the judiciary

...

words which seem to

...

No doubt we talk about a freed and independent press and

...

respect press and people are inter-dependent ; press informs the

people and people fight for the [illegible]
o [illegible]
b [illegible]
t [illegible]
i [illegible]
to preserve democracy.

Some may think that the Government should play an important role in making the press independent. But it is wrong because the moment the government touches any of the pillars of democracy, it becomes distorted and may not be able to serve the public properly. Even if the press goes wrong a truly democratic govt. should not interfere. Let the public opinion put them in right place. In fact if the press indulges in yellow journalism or starts giving fabricated stories the people will [illegible]
it as a source of [illegible]
is the democratic [illegible]
ment starts mal[illegible]
bound to become [illegible]
ing under the directions of the people in power. Even if the public is to punish the press, sense of right has to be cultivated. If the press does not bother about the ethics of journalism, people will have to think of it and guide the press in the right direction.

Unfortunately, politics corrodes upon the democratic structure and the party's interests distort the function of the press. No doubt everyone should be allowed to have his own political views or economic views. But we should not try to spurn the views of others as long as those views do not do any harm to our freedom of opinion and expression. This objectivity is more vital for the press as it is for the judiciary. If the Government is to be objective as it should be, press will automatically be in a proper trim.

Democracy implies the right of dissent but if criticism is to become effective or useful, it must be objective and based on facts and not on prejudices. Whenever it is based on prejudice, it does not do any good. If the criticism is misplaced due to selfish motive, it can never strengthen the [illegible] Press has the right to dec[illegible] s voice can become effecti[illegible] is only the effective mediu[illegible] only the press that can m[illegible]

It is a matter of common observation that the Parliament, the executive, the judiciary and the press must zealously guard the freedom of other three pillars because if one pillar gets weakened, all other pillars will become weak. So there is [illegible]

if everyone observes properly, we should say no government is necessary. But that is an ideal state which perhaps may not be given any practical shape so easily.

If press is tempted into doing wrong things either by favours or money or by threats of government, nobody can preserve independence of the country. In fact the press should guard against these types of temptations so it should have integrity. The unit of the press is vital in fundamental matters relating to the press and to the people. Of course they are bound to adhere in their opinions rather that is necessary for democracy. It is common saying that only two idiots can agree on everything, and the intelligent people are sure to differ. It is the function of wisdom to show that when we work together, we coordinate our differences and act in the interest of all concerned. This is what is assumed in democracy and this is what the press must propagate. Some times mistakes are committed but to err is human. The real danger lies in not recognizing those mistakes; one must try to see them and correct them and should not persist in them. So the press must criticise, of [illegible] the govern- [illegible] ould also [illegible] ot be so [illegible] rnment is [illegible] s instead [illegible] pon each [illegible] ies would make them to function properly. Similarly, the Janata Government has revived Press Council because if the press is to regulate itself, it must have a Press Council of its own.' If the Government takes help of it, then, indirectly govt. will regulate the press. It is therefore said that the government should have nothing to do with the Press Council, either in forming it or running it. The Press Council is to be chosen by the press people.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

India is facing the problem of unemployment in a big way. To make the situation worse there is meagerness of capital resources and the unemployed cannot start their own industries. Small scale industry can provide the necessary solution. Small scale enterprises, according to the definition given by the government in 1975, is an undertaking with a fixed capital investment in plant and machinery is not more than Rs. 10 lakhs irrespective of the number of the persons employed. These are generally divided into two main types small scale enterprises and cottage industries. In the latter there is the greater use of the manual process. Moreover cottage industries are generally considered to be "almost entirely household enterprises" deriving their raw materials from local sources and sell most of their products in the local markets. So these are "rural, localised and technically backward". In the earlier stages these grew around main commercial centres, mainly producing consumer's goods. The second World War caused a spurt in demand so more industries were set up. Similarly decline in imports also helped these industries to expand. At present there are more than four lakh industries of this type showing a gross output of six thousand crores.

The industries play an important role in the Indian economy. There are thirty industrial products which are produced only in the small-scale industrial sector. And these are fifty four industrial products in which small scale sector accounts for fifty per cent of the total industrial production. These industries have generated employment for nearly 70 lakh people. Still these industries have been a subject of controversy. The Industrial Policy Resolution, [illegible]

Small scale industries are considered to be labour-intensive [illegible] the productivity does not increase it is not possible to generate more employment.

The income generated in a large number of small enterprises is dispersed more widely. On the other hand large scale industries encourage concentration of economic power. Apart from it as the

small enterprises are proprietary or partnership concerns the relation between the workers and the employers are cordial. Some economists think that as there are no trade unions in these industries the employers exploit the workers to the maximum extent. So the employees in these industries do not get social benefits and are never economically better off. Small Industries pay low wages and generate less savings. In fact in the under developed countries the labours have to make a choice between no job or low paid job.

Small scale industries help in dispersing the industries to different regions of the country. Concentration of industries near big cities starve the other parts of the country and encourages urbanisation. This type of decentralisation will help in exploiting the resources of all the regions. The problem of congestion will be solved.

Small enterprises are seriously handicapped and must be helped. These do not get raw material, imported components and equipment. Moreover they lack finances. Their internal resources are meagre. In December 1975, as against a total advance of 9807 crores to all industries from commercial bank, small industries received only 11 7 per cent. So these industries must be provided with short term and long term loans Another problem faced by these is that of the technical assistance. At present there is arrangements for providing technical advice and assistance ; the CSIO provides a staff of technically qualified people. But the assistance [illegible] getting greater share of government and defence purchases yet marketing responsibility has not been taken up.

One of the main aims of the small Industries programme has been to protect such industries from competition from large scale industries. The fourth plan pointed out, "The operation of the industrial licensing system has not been effective in preventing competition from the large industries and in providing a required degree of protection".

The objectives for the development of the small industries in the Fourth Plan were to improve the production techniques, to promote decentralisation and dispersal of industries and to promote agro-based industries. The Fifth Plan laid down that the principal objectives of the programme for the development of different small *industries are to remove poverty and inequality in consumption* standards of the persons, employed in these industries, through large scale opportunities for fuller and additional productive employment and improvement of their skills

The Janata Party manifesto clearly states that the objective of a just and egalitarian society can become a realisable ideal onl.

if we move towards an economy in which agriculture and small enterprises get primacy. The only way to steer clear of the evils of capitalism and state capitalism and to ensure full employment and [illegible] s purpose [illegible] ed. This [illegible] or achiev- [illegible] through [illegible]

INDIA AND DISARMAMENT

Mahatma Gandhi appeared to have defined, in anticipation, the approach to disarmament as early as 1939, when in the context of the Second World War, he had said: "For India to enter into the race for armaments, is to court suicide". The AICC formally adopted a resolution in September 1945 deploring the widespread destruction of life and property in Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the atom bombs. In conformity with the AICC resolution, the then Prime Minister of India declared on 7 January 1947, that "the spirit [illegible] atom bomb, and th[illegible] and the use of the [illegible] 1950, in the contex[illegible] against "the idea of [illegible] the atom bomb anywhere at any time and much less in the particular context of war in the Far East". Besides being in conformity with the declared policy on disarmament, Nehru's warning was timely.

One of the important factors, or more aptly phenomena, which hampered the progress of disarmament as a whole, was the emergence of the cold war soon after the World War II was over. It is also a noteworthy fact that India's indep[illegible] [illegible] Powers was in a mood to appreciate India's policy of non-alignment. In fact, the then US Secretary of State, Dulles, had even denounced non-alignment as "immoral". This hostile attitude of the Big Powers against non-alignment was a definite obstacle, as none of the moves or initiatives made by India in the UN for disarmament, met with success or was accorded ready welcome.

The founding fathers of the United Nations were very much alive to the need for institutional provisions on an international level to facilitate the progress of disarmament negotiations among nations of the world. It was with this end in view that Articles 11 (1) and 26 were incorporated in the UN Charter. Under Article

11 (1) the General Assembly has been entrusted with the responsibility of formulating general principles governing disarmament, the regulation of armament and to make any recommendation in this regard "to the Members or to the Security Council or to both". Article 26 of the Charter authorises the Security Council to draw up the appropriate plans governing regulation of armaments. Judging by the substance of the propo·als, suggestions, initiatives, moves etc. made by India in the UN towards achieving disarmament one can safely conclude that the authorities in India had taken seriously the responsibilities entailed in Articles 11(I) and 26 of the Charter since the very beginning when India had joined the United Nations.

It is interesting to note that till 1951 disarmament was dealt with by the UN under two separate categories: (a) regulation of conventional armaments; (b) control of atomic energy. Later, they were merged into one under the broad heading 'Disarmament" Of course, the control of atomic energy continues to dominate the UN discussion on disarmament. This is understandable.

It was in January 1946 that the General Assembly adopted a resolution establishing a commision on atomic energy. The Commission comprised the states represented on the Security Council plus Canada. In its very first report dated 30 December, 1946, the Commission declared that "scientifically, technologically and practically it is feasible . to control atomic energy...(and) that the development and use of atomic energy are not essentially matters of domestic concern of the individual nations, but rather predominantly international implications and repercussions". It would be pertinent to mention here that not withstanding the adoption of the resolution, the members of the Commission were not unanimous when they came to tackle the question of formulating a plan for control of nuclear energy. U.S. plan, which had the support of the majority, had recognised the "international implications of the problem and had noted that, upto a very advanced stage of manufacture, the production of nuclear energy for peaceful or warlike purposes, involved identical and inseparable processes. In the light of this fact, the U.S. plan suggested that the international contnol agency should acquire control or ownership of all source material from the moment it was removed from its place of deposit in nature. The proposed agency would have the authority to determine, in each case, whether it would own, operate, and manage any source material refinery, or whether it would licence the operation. The agency was to have the right to conduct through inspection of any part of the territroy of any state, subject to appropriate procedural requirements and limitations designed to prevent possible abuse of the powers entrusted to it. The members of the Commission were to have unimpeded rights of ingress, agress and excess. It was specifically stated that no government would

have the power through the exercise of right of veto or otherwise to obstruct the course of control of inspection.

The Soviet Union opposed the U.S. plan on the ground that it constituted an unwarranted infringement of national sovereign and was contrary to Article 7(2) of the Charter governing questions of domestic jurisdiction. The USSR submitted its own proposals in June 1946 and their elaboration in June 1947. The Soviet proposals, while recognising international inspection and supervision as necessary conditions for any plan of international control of atomic energy, opposed the idea of continuous inspection and instead suggested that inspection should be confined to facilities and materials which nations themselves reported to the international agency. The Soviet proposals insisted that the proposed atomic energy authority must be subject to the jurisdiction of the Security Council. The Soviet Union also called for the immediate outlawing of nuclear weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles.

The United States, and the majority of the members of the Commission, felt that the Soviet proposals were fundamentally inadequate for the control of atomic energy and that "It is completely unrealistic to expect any nation to renounce atomic weapons without assurance that all nations will be prevented from producing them." By 1948 the conflicting views of the Big Powers had crystallized, and there was hardly any scope for compromise. It was at this stage that India made its debut in finding a compromise proposal acceptable to both Power Blocs. During the 1948 session of the General Assembly, a subcommittee was constituted to work out an elected Chairman of the sub-committee, submitted a draft resolution under which the General Assembly was urged upon to approve in substance t[illegible] of the Atomic Energy C[illegible] to resume and conti[illegible] however not accepted.

At the plenary session of the General Assembly in 1948, India submitted a compromise proposal to the effect that the Assembly approve the Western Powers' control plan (which had the majority support) in substance, and that the Atomic Energy Commission be instructed to draft a treaty as early as possible. The Assembly [illegible] t a revised version [illegible] the Commission [illegible] sidered useful and that the Big Five and Canada should meet to explore whether there existed a basis of agreement between the conflicting stands of the Big Powers on the issue. The Assembly also approved the majority plan as constituting the appropriate basis for the setting up of an effective system of international control over atomic energy. What the Assembly had approved, was not contrary to the Indian draft proposal.

What had prompted India to persist in its efforts at finding out a compromise regarding the international controls nuclear energy during this early phase of discussions at the U.N, was not only the desire for the maintenance of international peace and security, but also the basic objective of ensuring that the nuclear energy was utilised for peaceful purposes only, so that India's economic progress, specially in the field of power generation, could be stepped up at a faster pace.

Not only India, but other member nations of the United Nations, both developed and developing, has focussed attention on the question of international control of atomic energy, with a view to harnessing the atom for peace. For instance, the convention on international control of nuclear energy proposed by the U.S.S.R. stated that the great scientific discover[illegible] [illegible]cted with nuclear energy were of prime im[illegible] [illegible]ntries like India, [illegible] Union because [illegible]ssential for raising [illegible]xpensive source of abundant bringing them to some reasonably parity with the living standards and those existing in the U.S. and West European countries. It was natural, therefore, for a developing country like India not to forego any opportunity to develop nuclear energy for economic growth; nor could she allow any international organisation, dominated by industrially advanced countries, to control their activities in regard to the development of nuclear energy. These facts were brought to the fore by the Indian delegate at the 1948 session of the General Assembly. Mrs. Pandit said that India could not accept in its totality the Western plan for international ownership of atomic raw material and of the main production processes, as atomic energy was bound to play an important part in a developing country like India. India had recognised the importance of the atom for peace programme and was not in favour of an unconditional control by an outside agency, because it would be difficult to isolate the economic aspects of nuclear energy from the economic aspects of other raw materials capable of producing power.

India did not forward any definite proposals on the question of the general regulation and reduction of armaments during the early phase of dicussions at the U.N. and other international forums. India had felt that the solution of problems in the field of general regulations and reduction of conventional armaments, depended essentially on an agreement between the Big Powers. The Indian delegate told the 1953 General Assembly session that the small powers, instead of supporting either, of the two camps, might act as a catalytic agents. However, India has desired and is working for in early agreement being reached by the Big Powers on disarmaments because with the advent of megaton hydrogen and neutron bombs, together with the ICBMSs, any large scale conflict is bound to effect adversely not only the combatants, but the whole world.

India felt that a stage had been reached when there was "no alternative other than disarmaments". India's stand was clarified in 1955 by Prime Minister Nehru, when he said "......the objective of India is disarmament and we regard arms control as a means to achieve it". He added: "It is a step in that direction It is important to seek agreement on arms control measures specially when we have a situation in wich disarmament has become a complex problem. But arms control is not disarmaments and to make it an objective is to abondon the hope for disarmament We cannot accept it. We have always stated that we will support any arms control measure provided it creates conditions for achieving disarmaments". He further said; "Implementation of arms control measures either by agreements or by unilateral decisions also have ... na- ... res ..."

India took a constructive view of disarmament when she submitted in 1950 a draft resolution in the General Assembly recommending the establishment of a UN Peace Fund to be financed out of the money saved through disarmament, for the development of developing countries. Commending this proposal, Nehru said, "Our socio-economic situation compels us to pursue disarmament."

Thus, India considered control or the regulation of armaments as a means to an end—the end being the betterment of human living standards and a general improvement in the quality of life everywhere.

It is important to note that even in 1962 India did not resile from her earlier stand on China's inclusion in the disarmament negotiations. In fact, India insisted all along on the inclusion of China in the disarmament talks. As early as 19 September 1950 India's permanent representative at the United Nations, Sir B.N. Rau, told the General Assembly that without China's inclusion in the UN disarmament process, discussions on disarmament would remain largely unreal.

Namibia is a product of Washington's initiative and he could hardly be expected not to give it a fair chance. It must, however, be noted that U.S. moderation on Namibia is rather out of tune with the popular mood there. During his visit to New Delhi last week, the President of the South-West African People's Orgrnization, Mr. Sam Mujoma, left no one in doubt that the Western proposal was unacceptable, chiefly because of its vagueness [illegible] Mr. Carter's anxiety over the [illegible] nce is widely shared by black

DECENTRALISATION OR CENTRALISATION OF POWER

Or

"AUTHORITARIANISM IN INDIAN DEMOCRACY"

The period of Emergency in India showed that there was over-centralisation of authority but the new government is talking about decentralisation of power. Different philosophers and thinkers have been supporting both of these from time to time. For the establishment of democracy as the only good form of government it is increasingly felt that decentralisation of power is a check against the degeneration of democracy into dictatorship. Philosophical Radicals organised syndicalists agree that authoritarian rule and an excessive concentration of power are among the main obstacles in the way of social and individual progress. Even the communists express at least theoretical dislike of the centralised authoritarian State. Marx, for example, described the State as a parasite of society and looked forward to the time after the revolution when it would automatically wither away. No body can deny that if we want to change society for the better there must be freedom, justice, peaceful co-operation between [illegible] This [illegible] ery. [illegible] political hierarchy, the suppression of free discussion and the imposition of an authoritarian system of education.

In some of the societies the State exists for the purpose of ensuring privileges of the ruling class. In feudal community the State is the instrument by means of which the landed nobility keeps itself in power. Similarly, under capitalism the rich retain their power with the help of the State. Clearly enough in such societies the people in power will always try to retain power in one or the other way. [illegible] ism a government [illegible] rn-ment during [illegible] tru-ment for establishing democracy and disciplining nation to make them better members of the society. But these dictatorial short-cuts can never take us to our destination. We must march directly, if we turn back to it we shall merely increase the distance which

separates us from the goal. Political road to a better society is decentralisation and responsible self-government.

In the present circumstances, it seems improbable that civilised community will take that road. Firstly, a society which is prepared for war cannot afford to be any thing but centralised. That is why any country which proposes to make war as an instrument of policy must have all powerful executive. So a democracy which prepares for modern war ceases to be democratic. The reverse is also true. That is why a highly centralised executive will always wage a war because whenever a tyrant field that is popularity is waining he is tempted to exploit nationalistic passion in order to consolidate his own position. Moreover, the individuals start feeling that the State is himself That is why some of the responsible leaders in India had started saying that Indira is India and they had started pressing her for a war against Pakistan and also against some rebels in the country. In this manner the State is made the instrument of an individual's mania of persecution and grandeurs.

Some may say that in the present state of circumstances every nation feels that it must prepare for war. That is why there is a general tendency to increase the power for the Central executive. They say that a mad race for arms and conflicts within the world and the power bloc rivalries have resulted in a state of war. Consequently, there is a tendency towards totalitarian State. Before the Second World War this war hysteria had gripped most of the European nations and so there was a tendency towards totalitarianism. For example, in England the Sedition Bill was passed and there was an enrolment of air raid wardens. Similarly, in France Executive had taken much power. In such conditions they say that there was nothihg wrong for India to move towards authoritarianism. But just to sacrifice democracy for the sake of war victories is morally unjustified and betrayal of the trust of the people. A true democrat woud like to say even if India had lost battle with Pakistan without losing democracy it would have been better.

A common man is easily impressed by the successes of the government because nothing succeeds like success even if that success is apparent. The Indira Gandhi Government tried to implement the policies and some of them decidedly beneficial to the people in a dictatorial manner. The success yet was considered to be the success of centralised government There was so much propaganda in favour ... it that the people started thinking that the way to desirable change

lies in the concentration of power. Rather the glamour of success becomes one of the methods of perpetuating authoritarian rule. But if success is to be achieved by making a large number of people slaves it is analogous to killing the patient in an attempt to cure him.

The typical method adopted by the authoritarian rulers is to provide a set of terms in which their policies are rationalised and the crimes are justified. They serve as moulds for the thoughts of the people and the feelings and desires. This type of rationalisation has been given by the fascists, nazis and communists alike. In India the authoritarian government was ruling in the name of eradicating poverty and disciplining the nation. Everything was justified in the name of discipline.

Again power is intoxicating by delightful. That is why the people in power always try to retain it. That is why in all dictatorial countries the instruments of domestic policy are spying, torture, delating arbitrary imprisonment and execution. There may not have been executions in India, but arbitrary imprisonment was facilitated with the help of DIR and MISA. The horrifying tales of torture prove it beyond doubt that the government wanted to create fear in the minds of the people. There was also a net work of spying.

The consequence of this curtailment of individual liberties and a progressive regimentation of the masses had frustrated people. The rational idealist deplore this tendency. It is completely wrong to think that tyranny will some how result in democracy. It has been suggested that we should not be misguided by the false attractions for this form of government. There was so much of dormant resentment that it might have burst as it has in Pakistan, the result would have been one of the most unfortunate one in history.

"LESSONS OF THE SIXTH GENERAL ELECTIONS"

General Elections constitute the only instrument of running indirect democracy in a country. In fact the very idea of elections is based upon the psychology of group. Quantatively a group differs from a crowd in size and qualitatively in the kind and intensity of the mental life of the constituent individuals. So the tone of creating motion is essentially dionysiac. As an individual is a member of the

crowd, he is released from the limitations of his personality. Many people want to escape the limitations of their ego. As a common man does not know how to travel upward from personality into super personality so they have attraction for the crowd. The communists denounced religion as the opium of the people but all that they have done to replace it is they have replaced the old drug with a new one of the similar composition. In this manner the crowd tries to develop a crowd mentality which sways the elections. We often hear of Indira wave or Janata wave. This is nothing but the manifestation of the same desire.

Earlier five general elections in India were not so significant though elections like wars take the nation a step forward in one or the other directions. Even the first general elections was described as "a great experiment in democracy". The second general elections were "less of an adventure or novelty as compared to the first". Some people felt that if the first general elections taught a large number of the uneducated voters—what the vote means, the second general elections made them familiar with the exercise of their right the judgement to discriminate and understand during this election also political *maturity* was displayed by the voters. The third and the fourth general elections were just routine elections. The fifth general elections were qualitatively different from the rest of the elections because it followed the dissolution of Lok Sabha, the controversial minority, government at the centre and also delinking of the Lok Sabha from the elections of the State Assemblies. Sixth general elections have many lessons to give.

The elections have proved beyond doubt that the Indian electorates though uneducated are politically mature. Despite the massive propaganda which was mounted by the government during its elections campaign did not prove of much help to the people in power. The people voted the Congress out of power and made the leaders to feel that mere distortion of the fact cannot help any government to retain its authority. The Congress Government had been making the people to believe that nation has made a great progress. They tried to fascinate the people with the help of the nuclear explosion, certain steps against the smugglers and hoarders and give an impression that the government kept the welfare of the people in mind. Though nothing much was allowed to be published by the newspapers yet people were not convinced about the intention of the government. Similarly, the voters showed no fear of the

people in power though the government had tried to create a state of fear in the country.

General elections have shown that authoritarianism cannot work in our country. During the Congress rule, undue fovours were shown to a large number of the people. The enemies of this party were systematically wiped out. Consequently a large number of the prominent leaders belonging to the Opposition Party were arrested, tortured and harassed Apart from it, coercion and not consent was the common method of implementing policies. In the initial stages the government seems to be successful in its mission but ultimately the people in power became unpopular. General elections clearly showed that a Prime Minister who tries to ride rough shod over the feelings of the people can never win elections. So perhaps it is the first instance that a Prime Minister while in power has been defeated at the polls.

General elections have also shown that India is not suitable for any other form of government except democracy. The people may submit to the wishes of the people in power. They may be dominated by them but it does not mean that they have accepted tyranny. Even the people in the villeges were not prepared to reconcile themselves with authoritarianism. They wanted liberal policies to be followed and democratic attitude to be taken.

Sixth general elections also proved that the government cannot tamper with the Constitution to make it suitable for itself. Amendments to the Indian Constitution like 42nd Amendment are attempts to disfigure Constitution. It is the highest will of the people and in no case can be ignored. We must have respect for it and the wishes of the people with regard to it should be given due consideration. The Congress Government tried to change the Constitution and the laws according to its wishes and for consolidating its own power

These elections in India have been extremely fair and the election machinery has shown complete impartiality and fairness in judgement with regard to elections. There has been no rigging during elections as it had been in Pakistan. The leaders in India have also shown some tyrannies with their defeat. There have been no violence anywhere in the country. Minor incidents of violence are the natural result of elections. This is also an achievement because when a party which had been ruling for more than 30 years

is defeated at the polls. There was a possibility that they might have disliked this defeat. So the sixth general elections have consolidated democracy by giving chance to the Opposition parties to rule over the country. These elections mark an historic transition in the politics of our country This also forebodes the better future for the Indian democracy. Sixth general elections have made the people wiser discriminating and intelligent in every department of life. So sixth general elections have a great political education and which brought a significant political change without much bad results.

These elections have also proved that despite our weakness for personalities we have not been led by personalities. It was reported that the Congress government spent Rs. 1.64 crores on books and booklets justifying emergency and now the defunct 20 point Programmes Further Rs. 1 18 crores were spent on advertisement to newspapers for the same purpose This extravagance was meant for building up a personality cult. A common man was made to feel that it is very difficult to have a stable India without Indira Gandhi. But all this propaganda has gone waste and no way we have been able to project the image of Mrs. Gandhi as the only leader for India. After these general elections it has clearly been proved that no person howsoever important and howsoever great inheritors of the families reputation he or she may be, can remain in power till he or she is democratic. It is the action and not the image which will be assessed by the people at the time of elections. Perhaps it is because of this reason that the present Prime Minister is very shy of propaganda and does not want any type of publicity for himself. It has been proved that the people cannot be cheated for all times to come.

"NEW GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS"

Political stability of a country depends upon economic prosperity of the people and the nation as a whole. That is why almost all the democratic States of the world are welfare states also. They try to better the living conditions and make the country strong. The Acting President's Address to the Parliament and the Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai's pronouncement give an impression that Janata rty has given top priority to the economic conditions of the try. The party has been able to discover the failing of the

Congress Government which swore by socialism but pursued policies which only served to promote the cause of big businessmen and rich farmers. No doubt the success of the government in rectifying the existing distortions in the economy will depend upon its ability to steer clear strong pressures from many quarters.

The Government is still to prepare an economic blue print for the development of the country. A crucial issue on which the Government will soon have to take a decision is the price hike in the country. The procurement price of wheat has been raised a little. But it is going to affect the prices of other commodities. Some of the farmers have been resenting the low procurement price. But the decision of the government is quite correct. The conception of the present economic situation demands not a hike in procurement prices but a hike in water rates, electricity charges and an end to the direct and indirect farm subsidies unless their benefits go mainly to the poverty lines. The agriculture sector is not contributing to the national exchequer and at present its contribution is less than 2%. Though it is unpleasant task yet the States will have to undertake some measures for raising resources from the well-to-do agriculturists.

With nearly 3/2 of the rise in the official wholesale price index in 1976-77 accounted for by agricultural commodities and agro-based products the govenment's pricing policy for foodgrains and also for commercial crops will have to be guided by the imperative needs to curve inflation which is assuming huge proportions. The increase in the real national income during the 1976-77 is not expected to exceed even 2%, but the expansion in money supply which is broadly indicative of the aggregate demand economy has been as high as 19%. This cannot but cause concern. No doubt massive food stocks and foreign exchange reserve provide a cushion against inflation yet it all depends how effectively the foreign exchange reserves are utilised for augmenting supplies of sensitive commodities and for creation of the right kind of productive assets. Equally important is the thoughtful expeditious disposal of excessive food stocks.

Apart from it, it is not enough that the goods are available rather it is necessary that the trade should cooperate fully in ensuring the availability of goods to the people at reasonable prices. In non-inflationary path of development in the country depends on efficient better distribution system. Similarly, social disciplinning which is necessary for economic stability is many times found not politically

feasible. The present government has already revived the report of the committee on essential commodities which had been shelved by the Congress government.

Another important issue that a new government will have to face is the pressure from the business world for the shift of emphasis from fight against inflation to fight against recession. Perhaps they are emboldened by the Janata Party's spokesman with regard to doing away with the credit squeeze, industry's appetite for credit. It is almost insatiable. But there is little evidence to suggest that desirable production has been stiffled by the lack of credit facilities. Industries are suffering less from the lack of inputs physical and financial than from lack of demands reflecting the various distortions in the economy and the low level investment in real terms over the year. It is incorrect to believe that the liberal dispensation of credit will generate demand for industrial product. The government will have to explore the scope for reducing the share of large and medium scale of industries in the total credit.

Equally important task is that of resource mobilisation to support the investment efforts on a scale big enough to inject new dynaism in the economy. The shift of emphasis from the capital investment to employment oriented strategy will not ease the problem of additional resources. Measures design to raise large resources and reduce income disparities will involve decisions which cannot be politically popular.

The government has also decided to accord agriculture agro-based industries and small and cottage industries, an overriding priorities in its economic programme. However, because of many institutional impediments, the implementation of the programme is likely to face many tough problems. It is not merely a question of providing funds though this is also not going to be an easy task. Moreover, the decentralised sector is in a bad shape. It is estimated that 40,000 small scale units are closed and the number of sick units might be larger. How can one think of any major expansion in the decentralised sector when the existing units are sick. There are no roads, no water sewage or electricity essential for setting up industries in the rural areas. Even the city bred entrepreneurs would not like to move in the rural areas. Similarly, organisational problems are also many.

Another important economic problem before the present government is that of deficit financing. The previous government had been resorting negative method of collecting funds. This resulted in the expansion of currency which in its turn contributed to inflationary tendencies. The present Finance Minister Mr. H. M. Patel has promised to get rid of deficit financing.

The recent rise in prices has frustrated the people to a great extent. Any rise in prices is sure to affect the common man directly. That is why this is one of the most important problems before the government. The Prime Minister has pointed out that this rise in prices is just a temporary affair and will not last long. Some of the important business firms have decided to freeze the prices and absorb the extra expenditure in the costs. It seems that the retailers are also responsible for raising the prices unnecessarily. So some more drastic step are needed to check the price rise.

The success of the government in a democratic State mostly depends upon its economic policies. If she is able to stablise economy, it will be possible for her to become popular with the government. In case it fails to stablise it, the Government will earn a bad name. Economic logic should not be violated by political expediency rather politics should be subordinated to economic policies.

"J.P.'s CONCEPT OF LOK PAL"

Though the man of the present age is more anxious about the efficient administration yet it is outdated to say that for forms of governments let fools contest rather there is a search for better type of government and man has continuously been experimenting with the different modification in the working of democracy. A welfare State should be above corruption and its conduct should be proper so that it can work for the welfare of the maximum number of the people and in the larger interest of the society. Moreover, the administration should be efficient as well as effective. For effective administration it is necessary that all types of red-tapism must come to an end and all people should be treated at par with one another without showing favour to any one. It also means that the interest of any particular section of the society should not be kept in mind. In this respect delay in the administration of justice is one of the most important issues. But in a democratic government it is necessary to have

social consciousness ; the people must rise above their petty considerations and differences to the level of national good. They should try to express their opinions without any fear or favour. Correctly speaking civic consciousness includes political education and also the realisation that individual is a part of the society and the society and the individual are inter-dependent. It is to achieve purposes that the concept of Lok Pal has been given by Jayaprakash Narain.

The concept of Lok Pal is not a new one. There is a parallel institution in Sweden and it was brought into being in 1899. Later on it was adopted by many countries like Finland, Denmark and Norway. But for India it will be a new experiment and its creation has been necessitated by the prevailing corruption and also degeneration of the leaders as far as their obligations towards the society and moral integrity are concerned. The recent revelation of the inhuman torture inflicted upon political prisoners and others by the police clearly shows that the government can abuse its power if it has a majority in the Parliament. Similarly, the Congress government took so many unjustified steps like the amendments of the Constitution, invoking of the laws like MISA and DIR that it has become necessary for us to think out the ways to preserve the real character of democracy in India. The wide spread discontent among the people and the excesses of the government made Shri Jayaprakash Narain to suggest the setting up of Lok Pal. It is also believed that the representatives in India either forget about their constituencies as soon as they are elected or the party whip makes them so unimportant as not to assert themselves in any case. That is why the Administrative Reforms Commission suggested in 1966 that an institution like Lok Pal should be set up. The Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha in 1968 but as it was pending with the Rajya Sabha the Lok Sabha was dissolved and the Bill lapsed. The Bill was again introduced in 1971 ; but it also lapsed because of the dissolution of Lok Sabha again. But some of the States like Orissa, Maharashtra and Rajasthan have adopted the Bills of this very type.

From the Central Lok Pal Bill which was twice introduced, one can gather an idea of the structure and the working of the Lok Pal. The Bill suggested that the President after consulting the Chief Justice of India and the leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition was to appoint a Lok Pal. The term of the office of Lok Pal was to be five years. Moreover, the removal of the Lok Pal

was to be made just like the judges of the Supreme Court or High Courts. According to this Bill, the function of the Lok Pal was "to investigate any action of the Minister or any other public servant."

The Lok Pal was supposed to submit his report if he was satisfied that the public servant or the authority were corrupt or responsible for maladministration. If the action is not taken by the government the Lok Pal was authorised to make a special report to the President. Apart from it, Lok Pal was also supposed to make a consolidated report to the President who was to put the report before the Parliament.

According to these bills, Lok Pal was not allowed to investigate the actions of the Prime Minister, President, Speaker etc. It must be a serious limitations upon the working of the Lok Pal. But if Lok Pal is made all powerful, it might be considered a super-authority so either it may lead to conflicts between the government and the Lok Pal or to other administrative difficulties. Still the abuse of power in the case of Prime Minister is definitely more possible. So if the Prime Minister's actions are not investigated and checked it may lead to authoritarianism and excesses as was the case with Mrs Indira Gandhi. Another objection urged against the Lok Pal is that this institution may come in conflict with ministerial responsibility. In fact a large number of the acts of the Minister are not known to the Parliament and so many times they cannot put checks upon them. Lok Pal will provide a non-political authority for investigating individual's complaints. In this manner the charges of the opposition in the Parliament will get credibility and will not be dismissed as the outbursts of frustrated opposition.

Some people say that Lok Pal would be an encroachment upon judicial function of the court. It is a misconceived criticism because function of the Lok Pal is to investigate and to report and if the need arises to publicise. It cannot reverse administrative action. The purpose of Lok Pal is not to perform the functions of the judiciary. Some supporters of it say that the gains of that systems are that the investigations will be informal and it will not be lost in the intricacies of the legal system.

Thus the institution of the Lok Pal will not only tone up the administration but also put effective checks upon its wild action. Lok Pal will keep the officials all the time alert. This does not mean

that relief will be given to everyone, but the complainant, will get satisfaction that the matter has been reviewed by an independent authority. There is a possibility that the complainants may put baseless, un-founded or ill-conceived notions.

Still much depends upon the practice, and the traditions which are woven rounded it. Every institution is based upon good intentions but sometimes its working belies its aim. The institution of Lok Pal is necessary if we want to purge our administration of corruption, delay, inefficiency, injustice and favouritism. We cannot take remedial measures till an impartial investigation is carried. So far in India investigations are carried only after the change of government and the public generally interprets it as the vindictive attitude of the people in power So many Commissions have been set up to investigate the actions of the Chief Ministers and in some of the cases specific charges have been proved but after the outsting of the Chief Minister. Such an action is to put remedial in its character. In fact a man in power should be checked and should not be allowed to have his whims satisfied. When the people have already suffered at his hand it becomes useless to waste money in investigating cases against him. So Lok Pal would be a standing institution for reviewing the actions of hyghups in the light of the complaints made by the ordinary citizen. But there is a possibility that the Lok Pal may get so many complaints that it might become impossible for it to investigate properly. It has been reported in the newspaper that Prime Minister Mr. Morarji Desai gets more than 7,000 letters daily and if the Lok Pal gets double the number of the letters it would be difficult to carry on investigation. So the institutions will have to be modified according to the exigencies of the circumstances.

"REASSESSMENT OF 10+2 SYSTEM OF EDUCATION"

Education in India has always been the victim of extreme negligence on the part of the government. During the last 30 years no government has been able to adopt a suitable pattern of education, despite the fact that many commissions have been set up. Right from Zakir Hussain's Committee upto Kothari Commission only structural changes have been suggested in the system of education. Some- [illegible] suggested the introduction of basic education whereas [illegible] recommended higher secondary system and the

latest recommendations were 10+2+3 system of education. The main fault of our planners lies in their t[illegible] European system of education. They [illegible] job oriented education because unemployment problem had become extremely acute in India. It has also created frustration among the younger people and they have started thinking that our education is not purposive. According to 10+2 system after the X standard, education was to be divided into academic stream and professional stream. Those who get high percentage of marks will be allowed to pursue academic education, others will have to take up education in one or the other trade. Theoretically the system seems to be aiming at complete education for adopting a career after 10+2 stage. Three years of college education were to be devoted to higher studies.

This structural change in the educational pattern has already been adopted by many states including the Union territories. But there has been rethinking about the system though emergency had completely stiffled the resenting voices. After the 6th General Elections the opposition of the people to this system has become more vocal and the new government seem to take a realistic view of the old pattern. The Education Minister Mr. Chunder pointed out that the 10+2 system is unworkable and unrealistic. According to him this sytem of education is injustice to the younger generation. He pointed out that it is not possible for any child to prepare so many subjects at the 10+2 stage. Giving an example he referred to the social sciences which is a combination of five different subjects. He further said that mathematics which he himself studied at the B.Sc. stage is prescribed for +2 stage. This workload would encourage the student to take help of memory aids and emphasis will be upon mugging up. The children will never develop originality and the correct knowledge of the subject and they will have to muddle through their courses some how or other.

Another point raised by the Education Minister is that 10+2 system can become workable only if it is supported with the development of the cottage industries. If the professionally trained young boy and girl will not get jobs, it will be a greater problem for the State to handle. At this time the cottage industries are completely stiffled out of existence by the big industries. Moreover, all the schools will not be able to provide education in all the important trades. Firstly, the school don't have enough funds at their disposal

and secondly, they do not have the facilities to give practical training to the students. The Education Minister has correctly pointed out that this pattern of education puts the village folk at a great disadvantage and they will never be able to get proper type of education. So there should be a system of education which is in accordance with the socio economic conditions of the country.

He also pointed out that the government does not have enough funds at its disposal to see that the new system of education is properly implemented. According to him, education has always been deprived of funds whenever any necessity for cutting the allocation arose. Recently, Parliamentary Committee on Education suggested that by keeping the importance of education in mind more funds should be allocated to education. They recommend ed that at least 10% of the total budget should be meant for education. Even if the government is to give aid to the schools for implementing new scheme the exchequer will suffer a great strain. India at this time is not financially prepared to take this huge burden. That is why this new pattern is unrealistic.

Another defect of this pattern of education is three years college education. The Education Minister has correctly pointed out that it is ridiculous to increase the number of years at the college or the school stage. Education should be purposive and helpful in making the citizens enlightened citizens of the state. 10+2 system is extremely mechanical and will never help the nation to build itself in a proper manner. So the educational pattern should be such as may help the country to consolidate her power in democracy.

Keeping all the things in view and the views of the Education Ministers of the different States of India, the Central Government has made it optional for the States to adopt this system. Even though States which had favoured the system has been given time to rethink. Moreover, three years of the college will be meant for honours courses whereas simple path will be covered in two years. The courses for the 10+2 stage will be drastically reduced in order to make them suitable for that age group of the students.

Educational system should be such as may provide a proper base for the political set up. Moreover, it should be such as may help the students to take up jobs and also to develop original thinking and also for mastering of the subjects. But the most important thing

is that any educational system which is divorced from the socio-economic conditions of the country will never be able to strike its roots in the soil. Education being the cultivation of mind and the disciplining of intellect and emotions will never be able to serve its purpose if it is not allowed to conform with the conditions available in a particular country. In India education has not been suitable for the democratic set up and for the free countries. So some reforms must be introduced in the system of education, even if it is a strain upon the government exchequer, the experience of the past shows that if the period of schooling is increased, education has deteriorated because the standard of education at the school stage is not very high. For streamlining, education will have to take all the aspects of it as well as its impact on the different aspects of life into considerations.

"IS ABSOLUTE NON-ALIGNMENT FOR INDIA POSSIBLE ?"

Prime Minister Mr. Morarji Desai categorically said that the new Government is not going to have partial non-alignment as the Congress government was having. There is no doubt about it that the new government is committed to the policy of non-alignment and [illegible]

[illegible]

on the principle of [illegible]

hand and international [illegible]

has been fighting for. [illegible] political analysts it seems certain that India adopted the policy of non-alignment to steer clear the power blocs. When India got freedom, cold war was touching the freezing point and both the blocs were busy in increasing the areas of their influence. Russian block was doing so by spreading its idealogical concept over a large [illegible]

[illegible]

interest in the international affairs and the political situation of the other countries without joining any power bloc. She has been commenting adversely on American intervention in Vietnam, and criticising, though in subdued tones, Russian action in Hungary so we have been trying to remain non-aligned as much as it was possible.

During Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Prime Ministership India tilted too much towards Russian bloc. In fact this tilt had started when Krishna Menon was taken in the Ministry. Indira Gandhi left no scope for any doubt about our unofficial alliance with Russia when she entered into a bilateral agreement with Russia at the time of Indo-Pak War. It was the necessity of time because America had sent her 7th Fleet in the Indian Ocean and it was feared that they might make Bangladesh another Vietnam. There was no other alternative with India except entering into an agreement with Russia. Still it is a definite alignment whether the situation demanded it or not. So America had become anti-India and decided to set up a base at Diego Garcia. This was one of the severest blow which could be given to Indian non-alignment. Moreover, Russia had been helping us in many ways, Americans have been showing that Russian ships are there in the Indian Ocean and some others have said that they have been interfering with our internal affairs as much as it was possible for them.

It is in this background that Morarji Desai wanted non-alignment to be absolute. In fact in the present day world absolute non-alignment is a fiction of imagination. In one or the other case at one or the other time the nation has to betray partiality. Even the politics of the Indian sub-continent cannot allow India to become completely non-aligned. Pakistan, as our experience shows, has been getting its sustenance from her opposition to India. They have been creating problems for India from time to time, may be under the instigation of Americans. On the other hand Americans have their own interests to serve and they cannot afford to lose some of the friends in this part of the world. So their interest lies in making India and Pakistan fight on one or the other pretext. Under such circumstances India has to depend upon one of the power blocs.

Similarly, India has all the time been supporting Arabs against the Israelis though Israelis have been consistantly supporting India. India has to depend upon these countries for oil and she cannot afford to go without oil under any circumstances. Result is that

India's support to the Arab has always been interpreted as India's alignment with the Russian bloc.

So is the case with moral support which India has been giving ... ct- ... ch ... ey ... m ... as been interpreted as an indirect support of the Russian policy.

Non-alignment presupposes participation in international politics without betraying bloc affiliation. Naturally, when a nation is involving herself in these types of activities it is not possible for her completely non-aligned. Sometimes, the interests of the nation and that of the power bloc might coincide. Moreover, it is difficult to show equal favour to two power blocs which are directly opposed to each other in every department.

I ... ent with any ... understand- ... rotten and ... less. Despite the fact that we might have felt a sense of insecurity and sometimes ... of adaptation in policies is necessary because rigidity will paralyse the policies completely. The serious jolt which our policy of non-alignment has received, has always strengthened our belief in it. So India's non-alignment has been true type of non-alignment with ... ise

"DEFECTION IS A NATIONAL MALADY EATING INTO VERY VITALS OF OUR DEMOCRACY"

Defection from a particular party seems to be ethical by unsound particularly for an elected member of legislature or parliament. But defection is not confined to Indian politics only. Even in the most chasted democracy of the world i.e. U.K. very eminant statesmen like Gladstone, Wintson Churchil, Joseph Chamberlane and others changed their party affiliation. Some of them changed their parties more than once without resigning from the Parliament. In India also after 1967 general elections, defections and counter-defections became a common phenomenon. It has been pointed out that only in 1967 there were 342 defections and more than 200 of them got ministerial posts. Almost all the parties have been thinking of discouraging this floor crossing because a candidate who has been elected on the ticket of a particular party should resign from parliament or ligislature before he defects. In various States the governments collapsed only due to defections. In Andhra Pradesh, the government fell in 1953 because of defections and in Kerala the same story was repeated in 1955. Sometimes these types of defections create problem for the ruling party. The Janata Government is thinking of introducing an anti-defection Bill as soon as elections to the legislative assemblies are over.

The Union Government has done well to announce that it will elicit the views of opposition groups in Parliament before introducing legislation banning defections. The Congress had placed before Parliament a Bill on the same subject but apparently lacked the motivation to see it through. The Bill lapsed. It remains to be seen whether the Janata Government contents itself with a substantial revival of the old proposal or brings in a more radical measure. Whatever it is, eradicating the canker of defection is not going to be an easy task. The phenomenon has been considerably refined in the last 10 years. It could be argued—as indeed it was by Mr. Morarji Desai and other Congress (O) leaders at the time—that Mrs. Gandhi's action in splitting the Congress in 1969 and inducing a large number of Congress Members of Parliament to come over to her side, was tantamount to a kird of defection. It is this type of defection that complicates matters and the contemplated measures against individuals from crossing the floor should also take into account people.

Though over-riding cause of defection has always been the desire to come in power yet many other factors were responsible for

these defections. Sometimes it is because of loss of faith in the policies and the programmes of the political party. Many a time it is because of lack of proper leadership, factionalism in the party, existence of the powerful group and the difference of opinion between the legislators and the party leader. Whatever might be the reasons, defections proves the insincerity of person and the defectors who generally join the ruling party have always been indifference to the public interest.

In March, 1968 a Committee on defections was set up and eminant leaders from the Opposition parties and the ruling party sat on this committee. Even Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan was one of the members of this committee. The committee recommended that the defectors should be barred for one year after the date of defection to occupy any office. They also suggested that the size of the ministry in each State should not exceed more than 10% of the total number of the members of the elected body. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan called defections, "a fraud upon the electorate". He blamed the Congress which was the principal beneficiary from defections for not passing Anti-defection Bill So he suggested that there should be societies to create public opinion against defections. Some of the journalists wanted that public opinion should be mobilised against such opportunism. *They also suggested that* there should be some organisations as there are in the U.S.A. (Congressional Quarterly and the Citizens Research Congression) which make the background information about the candidates for the American Congress available to the people. Other suggestion was that there should be a method of Recall so that the defectors may be recalled. It must be made clear that bulk defections cannot be criticised on any score. Elder Statesmen like C. Rajagopalacharya said that bulk defection of party members is, "the essence of democracy."

The Congress government introduced Anti-defection Bill called 32nd Amendment Bill of the Constitution. The Bill sought to amend Article 102 dealing with the qualifications of the members by providing that the person should be disqualified—

(1) If he voluntarily gives up the membership of the political party whose candidate he was ;

(2) If he votes or abstains from voting contrary to any direction issued by the political party.

But there will be no such disqualification if a member quits his party because of a split in it. Article 105 was also to be amended by

providing that the President will not entertain any question whether a member has become subject to disqualification unless it has been referred to by a political party. Corresponding amendments were to be made to the articles governing membership of the state legislatures. These disqualifications applied to individual and even to bulk defectors.

The net result of this Bill was going to be that the individual as well as the groups were to follow the party line. Whenever a party was having an overall majority in the House, it would be for all practical purposes irremovable Many other points of criticism has been given. It was pointed out that the Bill has gone far beyond what was originally thought. The Bill was said to be anti democratic and anti-people. It was said that under the guise of curbing defections the ruling party was trying to make its own position impregnable. According to R C. Sarkar, the Bill denies the basic right and it is also based upon the assumption that there is an unbreakable bond between a representative and the party under whose symbol he wins the election. He further said that the Bill would allow party bosses unpresidented hold over elected members.

For checking defections, various other suggestions have been given Mr. R C. Sarkar has suggested three remedies. He says that political party should evolve a Code of Conduct and a body on the lines. Press Council should be formed to deal with the cases of defections. Secondly, taking into account the large scale of defections, the defectors should be debarred from ministerial posts. Lastly the size of the ministry should be lifted. Still defections cannot be allowed because they vitiate the political atmosphere of the country. The defects of curbing defection can easily be remedied. In India there is a great need for ethically justified politics if we want democracy to establish itself. The first step would doubtless have to be making it compulsory for an individual legislator to seek a fresh electoral mandate before leaving for another party on whose symbol he was returned. This kind of defection can quite easily be curbed. All it needs is a simple legislative measure that automatically declares a defector's seat in the House to be vacant, necessitating a by-election. Such a law need not distinguish between those crossing floors for reasons of conscience and those for "considerations". Should, however, such a distinction be made, it will have to be accompanied by provisions putting political and other inducements out of bounds for the floor-crosser. For, it is quite on the cards that what might be used to tempt a potential turncoat is not as obvious a reward as Ministerial office, but something as seemingly innocuous as the membership of an official committee or other similarly lucrative position.

"PUBLIC OPINION AND INDIAN DEMOCRACY"

During the recent days public opinion has been ignored by the democratic government in some of the countries of the world. In Pakistan there is an open and shameless suppression of public opinion against the rigged elections. Similarly, during emergency in India public opinion was completely ignored ; policies were implemented despite the fact that people did not like them. Is it possible for democratic government to ignore the public opinion whereas theoretically it is supposed that the government must bow before the people ? No government can afford, they say, to flout the wishes of the people without becoming unpopular. But in the present day world propaganda tries to suppress the public opinion and keep the people in a state of either submission of ignorance or apathy.

Russel, in one of his essays, *'Fear of Public Opinion'*, points out that this fear is the cause of unhappiness in the world. He argues that in this world there are profound divisions, may be, on the basis of beliefs or idealogies. Owing to these differences a person develops tastes and convictions which may not be according to convictions and beliefs of the others. So such a person finds the ideas of the other sect somewhat different. The result is that the person feels unhappy. He points out that persons like Blake and Bronte lived mental isolation but they were able to overcome its bad effects. But this type of force in their inner life is really found He concludes by saying that a large minority which includes practically all who have any intellectual or artistic merit. This attitude of acquiescence is impossible. So he says that public opinion makes these people unhappy and it is more tyrannical towards those who fear it than towards those who feel indifferent to it. This line of argument might be true of an individual but cannot be considered politically expeditious. In a country where people are elected it is necessary that the elected people should be responsible and responsive to the public opinion.

Sometimes in the name of moulding public opinion in the channels progress, the government wants to ignore it and also wants that people may not apply their thinking to any problem which can only be imposed from outside. In the case of individuals the fear of public opinion may stunt growth but in the case of a government it gives strength to the government. Fear of the criticism of Opposition and the fear of what newspapers may write may be an hinderance in the smooth working of the government but it can be

an effective check on the wild actions of the people in power. No denying the fact that newspapers now-a-days indulge in the witch hunting of the mediaeval days and they choose to make a scape goat of some, sometimes harmless persons. So the people in power may take the plea that as newspapers indulge in wild remarks we should ignore them as far as possible. Moreover, newspapers, they think, represent sectional interest or political prejudices. Whatever might be the defects in the working of the newspapers it is necessary that if they represent public opinion they must be cared for. Without caring for these types of opinions it will be very difficult for the people to repose their confidence in the government.

Sometimes the government in order to suppress the public opinion adopt coercive methods For example during emergency the news were strictly censored and only those news were published which suited the government Similarly, the members of the Opposition parties were thrown into jails without taking into consideration their views or even their services to the country. As a result of it public opinion was completely suppressed. But experience shows that the more public opinion is suppressed the more powerful it becomes ; it will only wait for an opportunity to find an outlet. So immediately after this suppression people had started nursing ill-will against the party in power. Publicity which was carried on a massive scale could not make the people to forget their own feelings. So they voted the Congress Party out of power. So public opinion cannot be suppressed so easily even if a systematic attempt to do it is made. Public opinion, in fact, emerges out of not one incident for one action rather it is the result of the total impact of the political, social as well as the cultural life of the people conditioned, opposed or adhered to by the people in power. So it has a seat deeper than the chances, emotions or the wayward prejudices or the ill-conceived notions. It starts at such deeper level bringing changes even on the surface. Such a public opinion becomes the part of the thinking of the people and their mental attitude towards life and its problems. A common man has his own morality which, of course, parttakes of the social miliue and he always tries to judge the actions of the government in that very context. That is why it is necessary that the government should abide by the wishes of the people. No government can afford to go against their wishes because it derives its strength from the people, their convictions and their beliefs.

Organised public opinion. if unnecessarily suppressed always results in agitations, protests and demonstrations. The lovers of

peace may think that demonstrations do a lot of harm to the peaceful atmosphere and create a number of problems for a common man. No government can afford to suppress these outward manifestation of the public opinion by considering them unwanted. Some of the governments may succeed in convincing the people that national interest is jeopardised by these types of actions. But they forget that the national interests are represented by the public opinion itself and it will be distortion of facts to say that national interests are the interests of the people only. The government must bow before the public opinion which is never wrong,

According to I W Dobb, "Public opinion refers to people's attitude on an issue when they are members of the same social group." It is relatively homogeneous expression of preference by members of a group concerning issues which concern the group as a whole. Now there are various agencies through which public opinion organises itself According to Bryce, "Three types of people play an important role in the formation of public opinion." Firstly, there are those who seriously occupy themselves with public affairs whether as members of the legislatures or jounalists or professors. Second type of people are those who are comparatively passive in their interests in politics. They listen, read and form judgements upon the facts presented to them. Lastly, there are those citizens who are indifferent to public affairs ; they generally follow the opinions of their environment, their neighbourhood or their class or their place of work. Such people are generally attracted by personalities. Apart from these, political parties with the help of propaganda organise the public opinion. Similarly, the press plays an important role in shaping or reshaping public opinion. During Emergency press played a significant role in pointing out the weaknesses as well as lapses of the people in power. Educational institutions, cinemas, associations and legislatures are the three factors which organise as well as express public opinion. But sometimes all of these agencies may not be ethically sound. So they may create a number of problems. The superstitions and religious conservativism, communal outlook and absence of liberties, lack of education and political maturity, political indifference are some of the significant hinderances in the formation of the public opinion. In India many factors particularly during Emergency were contributing in giving a disfigured shape to the public opinion. Rather the opinion was imposed upon the people and they were asked to subscribe to that very opinion. A sound public opinion can be formed if people have free access to

facts and there is scope for calm reflection and matured judgement. Apart from it, individuality or independence of character, freedom from rigidity, trade unions and linguistic groups are the other important hinderances in the formation of public opinion. In India the public opinion should be developed properly because only then democracy can establish itself.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN INDIA

Despite all the rhetoric that has gone into condemnation of the system of higher education in India and despite all the fanfare accompanying the introduction of the reforms suggested by the different Commissions, educational standard continue to deteriorate. Consequently a general atmosphere of cynicism prevails in the academic circles The students and the teachers feel that they are pursuing a purposeless and puerile activity. The unending chant of denunciation has done no good to the education in India. The cynicism has led the teachers to blame the students for indiscipline and the students blame the teachers for indulging in other than academic activities, the leaders blame both of them. It seems that every one is trying to find a scapegoat ; these attitudes are nothing else but psychological compensation for our desire to escape the stark realities

The present system of education is the least exacting as far the labour on the part of the students and the teachers is concerned. That is why even the lukewarm efforts at experiments such as semester system, internal [assessment have been opposed. Similarly the teachers ridicule them as fads and try to torpedo even the best scheme. That is why basic education met its end. Higher secondary education has failed to achieve its aim, in-service summer institutes have been a failure and 10+2+3 system is branded unpractical. So long as the teachers and the taught do not involve themselves seriously in the educational reforms nothing can be done. Even the Government finds it easier to cut the allocation to the educational schemes. Whenever its budget goes awry, educational schemes are the first casualty. Moreover allocations have never been sufficient. Even in the budget for 1976-77 education has been allocated Rs. 74 20 crores as compared to Rs. 134 crores allocated to the defence—the allocation is very much lopsided as far as the importance of education is concerned.

An other problem worth considering is that though teacher is supposed to be the very hub of the process he has no say in policy matters. It seems that the educational policies are hatched by the bureaucrats, who generally try to follow the political motives behind policies. Many a time the policy seems to be theoretically correct but the practical aspect of it is completely ignored. When a teacher is asked to implement this policy there is a sense of diffidence and alienation. Moreover, because of the trade unionism among teachers they have remained silent on all problems. Moreover, it seems that in the official calculations successful teaching implies popularity with the students and the high pass percentage. How can the students and teachers be governed by these mechanical calculations ? Reently a suggestion was afoot that the teacher should be assessed by the students. This would have led to the appeasement of the students and so education would have been nothing but labour to gain popularity. The planners often blame the implementing machinery but they themselves never learn from their failures. That is why during the last two decades educational experimentation consisted of measures that we have introduced and pointed at random. It has been a process of tinkering and not grafting. By making education result-oriented they indentify it with vocational training. But the purpose of education should be to develop them as acting and thinking indviduials who are capable of analysing new facts and new situations. Russell in his essay entitled "*useless knowledge*" points out that education should aim at producing better human beings rather than artisans and technicians. Such an education will have a process of enlightenment as well as enlargement of outlook. In fact the planners have been trying to inject ideological considerations into academic matters. For example the concept of socialism in education has come to mean better college and inexpensive and universal education. Mass education cannot be education ; quality should not be sacrificed for quantity. It can correctly be called literacy and not education.

In fact immediately after independence the Government should have overhauled the much condemned British system at that introduction of reforms and changes would have been easier because education then was limited to a few institutions. At that time we were swept away by democratic aspirations and the Government thought of expanding education horizontally within the existing pattern. Today even a minor reform involves hundred of institutions, thousands of teachers and millions of students. Moreover, demands on our exchequers are so heavy that it seems to overhaul the entire

system. In other words all future planning must seek improvements within the existing system. Otherwise also there is no need for total change after all basically the same system is working in British universities in a proper manner. What we need is quality control and that we can do even in a democratic way.

It should also be borne in mind that during the last few years *whenever students were given representation on academic bodies they* invariably sought dilution of curricula, laxity in the standard of education and the condoning of students' lapses. They have never *presented the students' point of view and have never played a constructive role*. We should not try to appease the students otherwise academic standard will not be raised.

Clearly we should not think in terms of a total change of education and reforms must cover not only the syllable but also the modes of teaching. *The teachers themselves should evolve the pattern of reforms*. This is possible if unqualified autonomy is given to the universities. A healthy competition among the universities will *never lower the standard of education*. In case of such fears some coordinating agencies at the State and the Central levels may be created. Unlike the University Grants Commissions, these agencies *should not hold the purse because it leads to dictatorial bull-dozing*. Above all the attitude of the teachers should be changed. The present day universities give degrees and not education. Only teachers can help to transform this purpose of education. *Otherwise* also if the teacher is only result-oriented, he will himself become redundant because so called "*guides*" would replace him. As the number of teachers is very large, teachers cannot be reoriented overnight. Every educational reform should be preceded by teachers improvement programme. It will not be out of place, to say that teachers themselves should be periodically tested and if they do not come up to the standard some type of disincentives should be there. Neither the bureaucrats should be allowed to have their own way nor the teachers should consider their work nothing more than teaching a few periods in the classes. The teachers should be forced to carry on work on their subjects and should be made to keep their knowledge up-to-date. *If education in India does not improve it would mean an end of political stability and social betterment.*

New concept given in the educational reforms is that of work experience. *It is envisaged that one year more of schooling* will be devoted to professional education and this will help the students to be-qualified for taking up jobs immediately after higher secondary

examination. They say that every school will set up workshops for carrying on the scheme of imparting this type of education. Every school in India cannot afford to meet the expenses of maintaining a workshop and of employing the trainers. The planners concede that if each school starts one workshop it will be more than sufficient, this frustrates the aim of reform in education. If the choice before the students is limited it is not possible for him to develop his inherent talent for a particular profession. Moreover the schools will also start discriminating at the time of admissions and it may result in malpractices. Apart from it, even this system is not practical If we want that the students should take up jobs after higher secondary we will have to create job opportunities for them. If we are able to absorb only a fraction of them, the problem will become more acute and more troublesome. Naturally, these types of schemes should not be given for the sake of novelty or for satisfying the curiosity of the people.

Similarly, the educational reform [illegible] type of failures and also by introduci[illegible] not bringing any proper change. If [illegible] ensure proper education, Students cannot get good education if the same method of teaching and the same system of examination continues. The study of the different subjects should increase the general ability and the examination should test the general ability instead of testing their memories to retain the facts on different subjects If we bring any reform it should be linked up with all the aspects of education, otherwise it might degenerate So our system of education has been prostituted and corrupted and more by the spirit behind its practical working. Education should not become a tool in the hands of planners ; only then something can be done for improving the standard of education.

INDIA'S ODYSSEY IN SPACE

OR

INDIA'S SPACE PROGRAMME

"It is science alone that can solve the problems of hunger and poverty, of insanitation and illiteracy, of suspicion and deadening customs running to waste of a rich country inhabited by the starving people." (Nehru) The space and nuclear technologies are the two fore-most and modern ones that the country is trying to harness for its multifarious developmental needs

The "peaceful" nuclear explosion at Pokharan, on Saturday 19th of April, 1975 may be marked down as historic day in the brief calendar of this country's post independence scientific and technological endeavour. As on that day India launched its first satellite "Aryabhata" so exquisitely and aptly called after the great Indian

fifth century algebraist, is now orbiting the earth sending out vital data which on subsequent analysis and interpretation will be useful both fundamentally and in application. But what has made it possible was Jawaharlal Nehru's stewardship which ensured the nation's commitment to science and technology.

Now let us have closer look at 'Aryabhata'. It is unique in some ways, the heaviest yet lofted by any nation in its first attempt to go into space ; weighing 360 kgs, truly advanced non duplicated experiments on board, especially the one in aeronomy the field in which our scientists are right in the forefront ; programmes planned in a well co-ordinated manner by the space research organisation and related groups.

One obvious question in every body's mind is what we are seeking from this shot ? Well it is the step which will certainly reassurance on the little publicised fact that although economically under-developed, technologically we are as good as any. Then there is the need for more information on the structure and dynamics of the sun, stars which give us our very sustenance, on the physical conditions of the upper atmosphere which to a larger extent affect terrestrial affairs, and on enduring astronomical puzzles as cosmic background radiation, X-ray, and Neutron Stars and what are called "blackholes."

The next question is regarding the significance of the three on [illegible] they benefit the [illegible] the first that [illegible] with "Rutherford's famous retort (when some one asked him about the value of basic research) "what is the value of a new born baby ?" We have to [illegible] sometime and we have now done just that. Arya- [illegible] heat budget of the upper atmosphere, they may be applied later for understanding such crucial questions as pertain to the monsoon, climatology and exploitation, of solar energy. It must also be noted that our satellite is not an off-shoot of military research ; most pioneers in the field have thought of science and humanity much after they had perfected their sophisticated weaponary. Thus our [illegible] reasonable and hence worth laudation. The need [illegible] the masses. [illegible]

Though Aryabhata marks a technical fear of some consequence it is nothing to rave about as still we have to depend on foreign country's aid—thanks to the power and the precision of the Soviet [illegible] India, however, has had the beginner's luck. Of course this

country and our youthful space scientists can talk of their illustrious forerunners in much the same vein as George Bernard Shaw spoke of Shakespeare : "He was a much taller man than me but I stand on his shoulder". As leaning heavily on other to buoy up a national technology is seldom a pretty posture. But in space research it is almost "de rigueur" even if one leaves the fantasy of the joint Soviet-American space projects out of reckoning As the Indian scientific satellite programme (ISSP) group cannot but be painfully aware that practically every piece of sophisticated hardware, for example, the solar batteries, space worthy tape records, solar paint that has gone into the making of Aryabhata (and its "back up" twin) is imported. We must try seriously to achieve self-sufficiency in the manufacturing of these perrequisite hardware. It is in this context that Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, architect of India's space programme, had emphasised that "we cannot have 20th century space research in 19th century industry or antiquated systems of management and organisation". There is a totality about modernisation, he said.

[illegible] of the three major projects [illegible] The other two are SITE, Satellite [illegible] ATS-6 (Application Technology Satellite 6, also termed as "Teacher in the Sky" and the third one the launch vehicle (SLV-3) Now let us have a closer look at SITE. The satellite was launched by the USA costing 205 million dollars at the Kennedy Space Centre on May 30, 1974. It is the [illegible]

[illegible] America's Pacific Coast. According to the programme in July 1975, the USA shifted the 1500 kg. satellite (ATS-6) from its position over the Galapagos Island to a point nearly 36,000 km. over Kenya. From there it beamed programmes in regional languages in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, and Rajasthan. By June 1975 the [illegible] and agriculture were being produced on video tapes and were transmitted to the ATS-6 satellite from the earth station in Ahmedabad.

But it is necessary and important to view the projects like SITE in perspective. One should not be so blinded by the technology dazzle, no matter how brilliant, as to be unable to see the social cultural and economic context in which any sort of technology has to function in the country. Though the SITE programme is all impres- [illegible] drama of development.

There are certain inherent-limitations in the use of television as a medium of mass communication that makes this so They are heightened when TV operates in the rural environment. For one thing, it is by its very nature a source of distraction. Its visual immediacy, its cinematic aspect, its presentation of people, things and events in a form of live mobility have an effect of continuous wonderment on the viewers. This is perhaps why it is such a pervasive medium unlike the printed word which calls for much more active mental and more imaginative effort on the reader's part. This inbuilt distractive quality does not make TV the best channel of instruction or education because the world that TV shows is taken by the viewer to be one thing, the world in which he lives, works, marries and dies is another the former does not widen or enrich the latter, it has little or no such direct effect upon it. So TV programmes on family planning or improved farming methods are not going to make more villagers plan their families or more farmers use modern agricultural techniques because they demonstrate the virtues and know 'how' of these measures.

Much the same is true of educational programmes for primary school children or trained teachers. The stuff of teaching is the presence of the teacher who is passing on and interpreting knowledge and experience and helping the pupil to acquire essential literacy, numeracy and other skills for daily living. Once again, the interaction between teacher and pupil is of the essence of the class room learning process. Without that interaction, teaching modes like drilling and reinforcement are not possible. Television replaces the teacher as intermediary but for inherently technical reasons its role is much more limited. Unlike the classroom, it does not allow the instant feed back dialogue, the give and take between teacher and student. If something is not understood it can't be sorted out; if something requires further elucidation, they can't be interpreted, the teacher or student, can't go back or forth at will.

The trouble with SITE is not that we are wrong in trying and bending space age technology to one purpose but that in the absence of any accompanying significant improvement in the social, cultural and economic milleau of the villages, such technology is unlikely to play even supplementary role in fostering development that it otherwise would. And this improvement can in the last analysis occur only by patient, humdrum toil, sweat and tears from a person to person through community, self help, relevant productive and useful educational schemes in villages, the provision for higher agricultural output, land reforms, the easy availability of at least some elementary medical assistance and similar steps.

The second thing is that, after a year ATS-6 will be gone and problem will be—"Mount inexpensive receiver transmitters (called repeater stations) on inexpensive balloons". Some of

the scientists say "Send them three kilometers high in the sky, devise methods to hold them in place by nylon ropes, and thus carry on until we can have our own communications satellite in orbit during the early eighties".

Now regarding the third major project that of launch vehicle (SLV-3) Rocketry has been our weak point. The gap between pro- [illegible] V-3 [illegible] is [illegible] 79, the earlier target for us to have a launching SLV that could send a 1200 kg. satellite to a 40,000 km. circular orbit.

No doubt for all these essential development the space department will get trained personnel and will not function in isolation. If other subsidiary centres are built up, those coming out of space department institutions will find a suitable environment to work even away from their distinctive mother institutions.

But it would be a pity if our fascination for sophisticated tech- [illegible] can show us a [illegible] us to achieve [illegible] Such a mis- [illegible] and pay even less attention to the devising and operation of schemes calling for [illegible] then we [illegible] V) pro- [illegible] ?

PROBLEM OF RURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN INDIA

India lives in villages and on their betterment depends the success of our democracy. The 20 point Economic Programme laid down by Mrs. Gandhi rightly touched the problems of the villagefolk. Apart from banning bonded labour, plan for liquidation of rural indebtedness has been mooted out. She has stipulated legislation for moratorium on recovery of debt from landless labourers, small farmers and artisans. We can achieve the basic human rights and the basic human purposes by securing economic freedom for the villagers. We must use the energy of the farmers for productive purposes. Till villagers participate in the working of democracy our political institution would strave for the lack of sustenance. When almost every Indian farmer is born in debt, lives in debt and dies in debt, we can- [illegible] ncrease pro- [illegible] go a long [illegible] e economically free. In fact instead of aiming at stability we should aim at social mobility; status should not determine the functions rather functions should determine the status.

Precise study of the extent of rural indebtedness was made by Reserve Bank of India in 1951-52 and in 1961-62. During the decade ending with 1961-62 the average debt for an indebted cultivating family had increased from Rs 526 to Rs. 738. West Bengal, Assam and Orissa hold the lowest position as regards the average rural debt. Rural indebtedness, according to the survey, is quite high in Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Mysore. Nearly seventy per cent of all agricultural families are in debt and the burden of the debt is larger in the case of small farmers. But a high proportion of loans are short-period loans

The financial requirements of the Indian farmer are generally divided into three categories depending upon the purpose. Farmers need funds for buying seeds, fertilizer, fodder and also supporting their families This money is needed for a short period. Another purpose of getting loans is the improvement of land, buying cattle and agricultural implements. Lastly they need finances for the purpose of buying additional land and make permanent improvements on land The main cause of the indebtedness of the farmer is his poverty The failure of crops due to the vagaries of monsoons or floods force the farmers to the fold of poverty. He has to borrow to keep himself alive. Poverty incapacities him to save; the loans go on swelling up every year. The farmers are always anxious to make improvements on land; they would like to use better fertilizer, more irrigation facilities and the latest variety of seeds. The farmer has to borrow for these purposes This loan is used for productive purposes and in ultimate analysis may be useful also But some type of borrowing can easily be avoided. Their respect for social customs—marriages, religious festivals account for too much expenditure. Even births and deaths claim quite good amount of unproductive loans Litigation consumes the bulk of the farmer's income. Sometimes he is dragged into litigation and at another time he himself enters into it Similarly ancestral debt goes on burdening the farmers They regard it as their sacred duty to pay off their ancestral debt Money lenders entrap the farmers and never allow them to escape his grip They encourage the farmers to borrow from them because they charge high rate of interest and mortgage their lands.

According to All India Rural Debt and Investment Survey conducted in 1961-62 money lender accounts for 49·2% for the total amount of loans to farmers, traders and commission agents contribute 8.8 percentage. Cooperatives and government pay 18 1 per cent. Clearly money lender has been playing an important ro'e in rural financing Some money lenders combine farming with money lending whereas others are professional money lenders. They account for seventy per cent of all rural credit. The money lender freely supplies credit for productive and non-productive purposes and also for short term and long-term loans. He is easily accessible and maintains a personal contact with the borrowers. His methods are simple and he has knowledge of local problems. But he is a pest of the society and indulges in various malpractices. They obtain bonds and promisery

notes from debtors on false pretexts. They deduct exorbitant pre-
Sometimes they retain
y grab land from the
It is because of these
y pointed out, "Private Credit, generally unsuitable is wholly unsuitable in the context of planning for larger production". Some States of India have tried to regulate the activities of the money lenders through legislation. In case of all debts, conciliation boards may be set up to reduce or to liquidate them Money lenders have to keep accounts issue receipts to the debtors for amounts received. The States have also fixed rate of interest. Legislation has not ameliorated the conditions. The money lenders carry on their activities as they used to.

Consequences of rural indebtedness are disastrous Economically rural indebtedness has resulted in the extreme poverty of the farmers. Land has passed into the hands of non-agriculturists and farmers have become landless. Thus it has become a burden upon the society and has resulted in the fall of production. The farmer, buried under debt, pestered by the money lender and overpowered by customs and traditions cannot work properly. As the farmer is to pay debt he is forced to sell his produce immediately after harvesting and generally prices at that time are at the lowest ebb. If money is borrowed from the traders they buy the produce at their own terms. Thus rural indebtedness is both the cause as well as the effect of growing poverty. Socially speaking rural indebtedness has created a class of landless labourers and tenants. It has resulted in bonded labour and many other evils. In a democratic society where majority of the voters live in villages it is necessary to better their lot The influence of the money lenders extend even to the political field.

possible. The old debts can be settled through Insolvency Acts. The farmers who find the burden of ancestral debt excessive may get their loans scaled down. Reconciliation boards may be set up representing
rec
it
Haryana government has recently declared the moratorium on rural debt for a period of one year though they have the power to extend the period.

It is not enough to settle old debts but the fresh loans parti-
Only education and
In some States
ey lenders. But legislation has not gone a long way in the removing the scourge of rural indebtedness.

The government has set up cooperative credit societies with a [illegible] finance. A coopera- [illegible] more persons. The [illegible] gets advances from [illegible] co-operative banks. This is the cheapest source of rural credit. During 1969-70 there were nearly 16300 agricultural credit societies with a membership of 3 crores of persons. The need for long term loans is being satisfied by land mortgage banks. The loans are granted for a long period, generally 15 to 20 years. The Reserve Bank of India provides one fourth of total needs of the farmers. The State Bank of India helps the agriculturists in five ways. It has opened branches in small towns, gives remittance facilities to co-operative institution, advances loans to co-operative marketing and processing societies. Lastly it is helping the construction and popularisation of warehouses for the storage of agricultural goods. Other commercial banks advanced Rs. 4 crores in June 1969 and it went up to Rs. 230 crores in 1972. The government has set up Agricultural Refinance Corporation. It was started with an initial capital of Rs. 500 crores. The corporation gives loans for bigger projects. The schemes approved by the corporation stood at 663 by the middle of 1972 involving financial assistance of Rs. 392 crores.

The problem is a serious one and still needs proper handling. In fact economic change is not the logical consequence of institutional changes. Change is a cumulative force and should influence social as well as economic growth. Disequilibrium in society often leads to wrong tendencies which are generally undemocratic. For preserving democracy we should try to better the lot of the people particularly of the villagers The aim of the welfare State is to devise institutions and norms which may assure economic and social justice. The power of the State should be used to establish, economically expansionist policies within the growing socialised sector of economy, to restore and maintain a high level of active accumulation, to moderate insecurity and to curb oscillations of economic activity. It is possible, by bringing an end to rural indebtedness to give a boost to Indian economy.

"STATUS OF WOMEN IN INDIA"

"Woman is the builder and moulder of a nation's destiny. Though delicate and soft as a lily she has a heart far stronger and bolder than man—she is the supreme inspiration for man's onward march, an embodiment of love, pity and compassion—" (Tagore). Gandhiji echoed the same feelings when he said, "Woman is the incarnation of Ahimsa", which to him meant infinite capacity for suffering. This is the Eastern view about woman. But men have indulged in fantastic view about women Shakespeare's Hamlet identified woman with all types of weaknesses, "Frailty thy name is [illegible]". Brutality is justified by the rhyme—

A dog, a wife and a walnut tree
The more you beat them
The better they be.

Shaw considers women a vessel of Life Force, "Sexually woman is Nature's Contrivance for perpetuating its highest achievement". The Hindu view has nothing in common with the European view of woman.

During the Epic period women did not suffer from disabilities. Monogamy was allowed and marriage was a sacred obligation. According to Manu, "The only vedic sacrament for them (women) is marriage". Dharamsastra also advocated the dependence of woman upon man. Woman in vedic India was considered to be a goddess like the Greek goddess Athena. They enjoyed liberty till the advent of Muslim rule Havelock Ellis, the well known student of sex, has beautifully summed up the Indian view of marriage, "Sexual life has been sanctified and divinised to a greater extent than in any other [illegible]

[illegible] husband to marry second time but with the consent of the wife. No religious ceremony was complete without the presence of wife. In [illegible]

[illegible] was not recommended : in Smrti books there is opposition to the remarriage of widows.

During the Muslim rule women were confined to homes. The women became the target of Muslim king's lust. Her position deteriorated and during the British rule women became backward. The rulers preached women's inferiority because they wanted that the generations should remain backward.

[illegible] made to emanc[illegible] share the proper[illegible] eparation. Dowry system is legally banned. Prostitution has been banned in many of the States of India. The widow marriage is encouraged. Women are to be given equal wages for equal work.

Woman get equal opportunity of employment. According to the 1971 census, out of the 180 million workers, 149 million were males and 31 million [illegible] in some fields in Ind [illegible] n are still illiterate, on [illegible] n of man and woman [illegible] r considered to be as sacred as it was. Still there is a tendency to treat [illegible] ae- [illegible] ed [illegible] l a silent, self-effacing role to sustain Indian civilisation down the ages. For their greater participation in national life it is necessary that they should occupy position at the decision-making and planning levels."

In India a Committee for IWY was constituted with representatives of 33 organisations. The Committee has recommended that dowry should be a cognisable offence, provide free legal aid to women in distress and set up one home for women in each State capital. The Committee wanted "equal pay for equal work" and more facilities for vocational training of woman The Committee felt that women at home is still exploited ; "Housewives cannot just curse and bemaon their fate. They should be inspired to act unitedly and vigorously against the dishonest ways of anti social elements". Conditions of life have changed and the emancipated woman is breaking the trammels that bound her in traditional slavery. She is economically independent, politically equal and socially free. She is no more confined to home, she is no more intellectual slave of man. So the relation of man and woman needs re-definition and re-adjustment. New basis of relationship, apart from economic and sex are to be discovered. Man and woman must realise their complementariness and base their relationship on equality and mutual respect. Woman [illegible] Domestic life [illegible] many socio- [illegible] harmonise the [illegible] greater social mobility.

INDIAN DEMOCRACY, ITS NATURE AND IMPERATIVES

The working of democracy in India has been criticised and adversely commented upon by the foreign press. They go to the extent of calling it disguised dictatorship. They base their conclusions on the suspensions of the fundamental rights after the declaration of emergency. They also point out that people of India do not enjoy political rights. But the foreign press is prejudiced and partial. They have ignored the necessities of the nation and have highlighted certain aspects of the working of democracy that may help them to malign India and wean away support from other countries of the world. Some of the foreign powers have long been trying to foment some rebellion in India so that they may be able to bring their own henchmen in power. America, China and Pakistan have always been finding one or the other thing wrong with the working of democracy. Abnormal rise in prices had frustrated people and their dissatisfaction was exploited by some of the Opposition Parties. Strikes, bandhs and violence in Bihar and Maharashtra gave an impression that the democracy in India is on its last legs. But these types of circumstances are always found in the different countries of the world whenever there are economic difficulties. Indian democracy is definitely democratic and whatever steps have been taken are to preserve democracy and not to destroy it.

One of the basis of their criticism is imposition of emergency and the invoking of Martial Law and Prevention Detention Act. They say that declaration of emergency has concentrated powers in the hands of the Central Government. Moreover fundamental rights have been suspended. They say that the enjoyment of the fundamental rights is the only sign of a healthy democracy. But declaration of emergency was necessitated by the wild activities of the Opposition Parties. Even in essential services the workers were incited to go on strike, there was a great clamour for higher wages. The prices of the commodities had risen abnormally, smugglers were happy with their roaring business and blackmoney had accumulated to a dangerous figure. Opposition leaders were taking of total revolution and they were try-

ing to incite army and certain other sections of the society. For performing this function they were getting aid from the foreign powers. Obviously democracy was in danger and the only constitutional method left with the party in power was to declare emergency. Rather it is wisdom on the part of the ruling party to use democratic method for checking undemocratic tendencies. We were living in the trough of a wave. Social peace was threatened and there was a crisis of values. There was a need for fresh thinking and new sensibility. The declaration of emergency has disciplined the nation and has made the common man to think that it is impossible to carry on democracy without having self-imposed discipline.

Similarly, the foreign press wrongly thinks that Indian judiciary is no longer a guardian of the constitution. They say that the supersession of judges, while appointing the Chief Justice of India and the Chief Justice of Panjab & Haryana High Court, has made the judges to fear the executive. They further say that Indian judiciary has become committed to the policies of the Government. So they feel that it will never be able to protect the people against the encroachment of the Government on the rights of the people. In reality judiciary by declaring certain laws null and void had become a hinderance in the implementation of the policies of the Government. The Constitution must be interpreted in the light of the necessities of the nation and also the national priorities. Somehow or the other the cases were decided in a manner that made the Government to delay the implementation of those policies. India is a resurgent India and the delay in the social changes would definitely do harm to the country.

Another count on which they base their conclusions is the curbing of the Opposition Parties. They say that some of the Opposition Parties have been banned and in the case of other parties important leaders have been arrested. In fact the Opposition Parties were indulging in wild actions. They had started taking undue advantage of problems of the people for their own political ends. They were busy in downgrading party in power and in tarnishing the image of some of the leaders of the ruling party. They had created the conditions of uncertainty and disorder. Had there been disorder throughout the country, it would have been impossible to save our democracy and to save the people. So a ban on anti social political parties and the arrest of those leaders who tried to undermine national security cannot be unjustified on any grounds.

Some critics of Indian Democracy may say that we have amended our Constitution 42 times during a period of :6 years They may say that by amending our Constitution in this manner we would change the content as well as the spirit of the Constitution. They may also say that Constitution is always a sacred document embodying the highest aspirations and the highest aims of the nation. They may further say that so many amendments would reduce the Constitution to a mockery. But our Constitution is a very detailed document and in the case of this type of document more amendments are necessary. Moreover, the pace of social change is so fast that it is not possible to keep it up without amending the Constitution. Mr. P. B Gagendergadkar the former Chief Justice of India in his book '*Indian democracy, its major imperatives*' has justified Parliament's rights to amend the fundamental rights. He explores the difficulties and contradictions created by the Supreme Court's decision in his Holiness Keshwanand Bharati Scripadajalvau and others versus the State of Kerala. He has pointed out that "the power to amend the Constitution conferred on Parliament under Article 368 although wild is subject to implied limitations that it cannot affect the basic features of the Constitution, introduce a disturbing dimension of weakness and uncertainty." So he believes that it is wrong to decide cases by taking the basic structure of the Constitution in view because the phrase itself is very vague. So amendments of the Constitution have not brought any basic change in the working of Democracy in India.

Some of the foreign press has pointed out that Indian press has been gagged. They say that some of the editors of the dailies in India have been dismissed on flimsy grounds. Though there is no check upon the press, except whatever is necessary during emergency yet if the press becomes irresponsible it is necesary to put check upon it. The majority of the population in India is uneducated and it is very easy for the press to incite them to rebellion. The Indian press was indulging in sensationalism and the poor ignorant people were led in the wrong direction. The problem of Indian democracy is not that of its chastity It is pure and has not been prostituted. Its main problem is to bring social change and to overhaul antiquated social structure. So far we have not been able to evolve social and political morality. That is why under the cover of secularism religions flourished and it was often given a political complexion. Similarly, untouchability and bonded labour

legally abolished but they have not been able to get social sanction. It is felt that there are some types of social cleavages and democracy cannot work till there is emotional integration. Socially we are not prepared for democracy and economically we are to cannot the luxury of this type of Government.

Chauvanism is another threat to Indian democracy. We find that every leader tries to impose his own will upon the people. The political parties without bothering about their proper function indulge in mud slinging. We are not tolerant of the view of one another. Social ethics is identified with personal interest. Under such circumstances Indian democracy become weaker as far as its content is concerned.

We are still to translate our aspirations in proper institutional forms. The role of political parties will have to be channelised, and the condition for the development of healthy opposition will have to be created. These changes need a new civilization and demands imagination and moral responsiveness. For making democracy to work all nations need imagination, leadership and strong resistance to anti-social action and foolish ideology. It is sure that India will consolidate democracy and all the incursions into it would be repelled. India is determined to preserve democracy, regulate democratic forces and channelise the democratic feelings of the people

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RIGHT TO PROTEST AND INDIAN DEMOCRACY

Social peace and democratic set up in India was threatened by the agitations and strikes which were sponsored by the Opposition parties. They called it a prelude to new thinking and new sensibility Ethical foundation of human behaviour was crumbling down. Every aspirant for political office employed forceful methods to make his presence felt. Naturally, democracy and the democratic spirit was in danger and in order to save democracy the ruling party had to impose emergency. In fact the strikes in the factory, the suspension

of work in the national services and the organised protests had tarnished the image of political institutions. It was felt that the violent agitations would shake the faith of the people in democracy. Still it is discussed whether violence in public life is democratic or undemocratic.

If the people feel that the Government is becoming dictatorial and is overriding their wishes, democracy demands that they should have a right of protests. In a truly democratic State if the majority of the people do not like the Government, it should bow out of the office. Does it imply that the people have the right to protest if they feel that the Government is not acting in accordance with their wishes? In fact we got independence through agitational politics and in such politics personality plays the most important role and political traditions centre round them. Leaders become guides for the masses and the political education of the people is limited to the advice given by the leaders. Obviously, this type of approach was in agreement with our tendency of worshiping heroes. That is why we have been relying too much on or misguided by the political leaders. Moreover, political parties in India did not come into being as organised groups of people to fight for civil liberties but as a natural corollary of the system adopted by us. Evidently, their aim is to capture power and they do not bother about their methods. That is why the Opposition parties in India started employing undemocratic methods for coming in power. They incited the people to violence. Obviously, under such circumstances we cannot hope to have any right to protest; protest itself will frustrate its own purpose because prostituted protest cannot help us in any way.

Gandhiji believed, "Real Swaraj will come not by acquisition of authorities by a few but acquisition capacity by all to resist authority when opposed." At another place he asserts, "Civil disobedience is the inherent right of a citizen." Gandhiji distinguished civil disobedience from criminal disobedience; the latter being violent-disobedience. Violence disrupts life, it dislocates the working of administrative machinery. Our protests often become violent and anti-social elements come to the fore and create the conditions of insecurity. Naturally, the common man cannot lead a peaceful life and the State no longer remains an organisation to protect the life and property of the people.

Does it mean that if our protests become violent we have no right to protest. Sometimes the Government may become undemocratic in attitude. It may ignore public welfare, feed them on wrong information and suppress their feelings. Similarly, sometimes authority itself may become violent. They may manipulate to win elections. Under such circumstances, some may say, that no democratic methods of protests are left with the people. For example, Karl Marx pointed out when the capitalist entrench themselves politically the only way to oust them is to use violence. Russian Revolution brought an end to Czardon and French Revolution brought an end to the tyranny of Luis So they would like to say that for a political change violence is necessary. If there is violence in public life then democracy comes to an end. Neither the people nor the Government is supposed to make use of violence in any form to fight against the Opposition or to fight against the anti-social elements. Democracy lives through its working and not through its mere name. It imposes certain obligations upon the people as well as the Government. Our protests have been violent only because there is no contact between the people and the State. This contact can be established either through administration or education. Unfortunately, our education has been the vestige of the past and was meant to keep the old in tact. Absence of this contact has created a feeling of indifference, resentment and the consequent suspicion The situation has been aggravated by the unprecedented economic difficulties. The rising prices, the non-availability of essential commodities and unemployment had created a spirit of resentment. Political parties were exploiting this situation to their own advantage.

Every democratic State allows the right to protest which may find its expression through the press or through other constitutional means. In India some people may feel that due to emergency our fundamental rights have been suspended and so we do not enjoy the right to protest. But Mrs. Gandhi recently pointed out that people should be bold enough to point out the defects in the working of the Government. The methods employed for the protest should be definitely democratic. Democracy as a political mechanism in India needs democratic culture. Our democracy is based upon semi-anarchist freedom of thought. Politically and mechanically our society has been hierarchical the rational groups and classes restricted social morality. This created social cledvage. In fact Indian

nationalism determines the democratic set up. Naturally organised violence even if it is difficult to achieve is unjustified in a democratic State. We are still to consolidate our democracy and develop faith in its efficacy so violence should not be tolerated. But violence cannot be killed through violence. Only Gandhian way can contain it. In fact *it is necessary that we do our level best best to adopt some better* methods, at least democratic methods, for protest against the actions of the people in power. If there is no dissent in a democratic State it is not true democracy. People must have the liberty to speak out their minds and persuasion on the part of the people in power can help in setting the circumstances right. In other words right to protest is inherent in the democratic set up but rights have their corresponding obligations and so one should not cross the legitimate bounds of our rights.

In a democratic State much depends upon the Government. If *the Government feels that the people are in a mood to protest they* should carry vigorous propaganda against the wrong notions which people might be harbouring because the political parties must have incited them. If the people fails to explain its position and tries to take stub-born attitude towards the people, it will not be possible for the people to put a check upon their feelings. Those feelings must burst in one or the other form. So the Government should be armed with one of the powerful weapons of propaganda of the Opposition parties. Sincerity on the part of the Political parties is the precondition of the working of democracy. Political parties can prostitute democracy, if they like. So right to protest is there in democracy. But in India *till people become politically educated, it must be enjoyed sparingly.*

URBANISATION IN INDIA

Urbanisation is closely associated with the economic development of a country. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the test of development lies in the shift of population to the urban areas. During the early part of 20th century there was economic stagnation in India and so urbanisation was limited. Urban population which accounted for 11 per cent in 1941 and in 1951 rose to 17·2 per cent. The pace of urbanisation has been quicker during the recent years. But none can deny that urbanisation is a recent development. . All cities cannot be called urban areas; according to 1971 census the urban areas mean those places which have a municipality, corporation or cantonment or notified town area. Apart from it the places which have a minimum population of 5,000 and if 75 per cent of the male working population is not that of agriculturists and the density of population is at least 400 per sq. km. are also called urban areas. The definition of urban areas adopted in earlier censuses was somewhat different.

In Europe and North America urbanisation was the direct consequence of industrialisation. In India industrialisation started very late and so comparatively urbanisation is also a later phenomenon. Upto 1941, urbanisation was not so quick and only 43·81 million people lived in the cities. The figures rose to 106·80 millions in 1971. Even now the urban population of India is only 19·87 per cent of the total population of the country. In all other countries the urban population is comparatively higher. For example in U.K. it is 78·87 per cent of its total population, in Japan 68·09 per cent, in U.S.S.R. 57·85 per cent and in the U.S.A. about 95 per cent. But none can deny that there is a tendency towards urbanisation in our country.

T.V. Chaudhry has given a large number of the reasons for the migration of rural population to urban centres. According to him they generally come to find work and employment. There are no continuous work opportunities in the villages due to the seasonal nature of agricultural operation. Industrialisation in the urban areas can provide better employment opportunities. Sometimes the villagers gravitate to urban centres to enjoy the comforts of the life. There are many temptations in the city life because life in the cities is more

glamorous. In recent years the elaborate economic planning has created new townships in the project areas and new industrial towns like Sindri, Bhokaro etc. and the mining centres like Neyveli and newly created towns for the settlement of the displaced persons. Mr. Bala Subramaniam mentions three sets of factors which are responsible for urbanisation in this country. He describes them as "Pull, Push, and Neutral factors". According to him 'Pull' factors are the opportunities of better employment, growth of new business and education facilities and availability of cultural and social amenities. The 'Push' factors are unemployment, insufficient income, family disputes, class tensions, indebtedness and insolvency. The 'Neutral' factors which Subramaniam mentions are the commitments of the operation of the natural laws of life like marriage and dependency.

In the pre-industrial cities the pattern of urbanisation was somewhat different. The cities were mostly unplanned and the population seemed to concentrate in or around the centre of the city. Here most of the facilities were available. That is why the cities were not big in size. Another feature of the towns in ancient India was that no separate residential localities each having its own shopping centre and other facilities were made. Entire business was concentrated within the bazars, and the distribution of population was on community lines. With the coming of the Europeans new pattern of urbanisation was introduced. They built administrative offices and residential areas outside the old cities. They were planned in a manner that there should be no congestion. Pattern of segregation was also introduced by them. That means they started having separate colonies for class I officers, class II officers and so on.

The social consequences of urbanisation are many. It creates the problem of housing because of the labourers and other people who come from the villages. Labour disputes and the pressure on the schools are the other direct consequences of civilization. They start following a different pattern of life. In the cities, "there is physical proximity but social distance." The hotel life has a great attraction for the younger generations. The urban slums start growing. Economic hardship and poverty bring conflicts among different groups. The criminal tendencies like illegal gambling, prostitution, unwedded mothers, intimidation of witnesses, election frauds start increasing. Moreover, it has created overcrowded houses, traffic-jams and many other pro-

blems. The great effect of urbanisation is on the individual family and environment. Roscher says that, "the great danger to morality and good government is that the individual is lost in the multitude of atoms—the condition that may abolish the sense of duty and make the great cities as insecure as the extreme opposite wilderness." There is a lack of social feeling. On the social level contact in urban cities have become secondary and segmental. Persons have become self seeking This type of unchecked flow in the towns has prevented the rise of wage level and has worsened the conditions in the towns. According to Mr. Sinha the greatest single effect of urbanisation is the general sense of apathy and indifference that envelop the migrants and their feelings of impotence and helplessness. Moreover, urbanisation has brought a transition from the type of family we used to have in the past Now-a-days they have families which are called 'nuclear' families by the sociologist. In the Western countries even the nuclear families have started breaking up. Even the function of the famıy is undergoing changes and mutual relations in the family are affected. Urbanisation affects environment also. Inadequate housing, water supply, sewage, insufficient facilites for recreation are the other consequences of urbanisation. The effect of urbanisation on the villages is also significant. Some villages show tendency towards integration with the cities. Community life is disappearing in nearby villages because the bigger cities absorb these villages. The villages, moreover, have been reduced to the suppliers of raw meterials. And they depend upon tne city for market, credit and even employment. These villages become the suburban towns in the long run.

No doubt there are wide variations with regard to the extent of urbanisation are which depicted in the different States of India. There is high degree of urbanisation in States like Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat and West Bengal because a number of public sector projects of national importance have been started over there. Moreover in these States we have cities which can help overseas trade. It will not be incorrect to say that industrialisation does not seem to increase urbanisation in India. There has been simultaneous growth of agricultural and non-agricultural workers. Still urbanisation in India is becoming more and more important.

TRENDS IN CONTEMPORARY INDIAN THEATRE

The theatre in India is spread over different languages and areas of the country. Consequently it is diverse and uneven. No doubt it is not possible to make any generalisation about it yet one can hazard to say that it is passing through a phase of stagnation. If at all it is expanding it is horizontal expansion, there is no excitement nor touch of creative imagination which was found in the theatre of the 60's. It is repetitive and also a drift towards the sensational and spectacular. There seems to be greater technical competence in the production because a great attention is paid to details the chareography of movements and too many other things which make the visual effects more prominent. The set castings are definitely better. Unfortunately, these have become the only aim of the present day theatre. The theatre does not give any deep perception of life or a wide vision.

The factors responsible for this type of development are not difficult to count. During the 60's a large number of the dramatists had appeared on the national theatre's scene ; Badal Sirkar, Mohan Rakesh, Vijay Tendulkar, Girish Karnad were some of the well-known dramatists of that period. Their plays were freely translated in the different languages and became quite well-known throughout the country. And it was mere coincidence that they were staged simultaneously at so many places in the country. In this manner they complete electrified the theatrical life. But soon these playwrights exhausted themselves and there were no other dramatists to replace them. Mohan Rakesh is dead and Girish Karnad drifted away to film and Badal Sirkar took to producing his own improvised script in experimental styles ; Vijay Tendulkar is the only dramatist from that group who is still writing these plays. But his recent plays like '*Sakharem Bindu*' or '*Baby*' reveal an insight into the social situation expressed in his earlier work. The approach seems to be thin and superficial. Even his play '*Ghasiram Kotwal*' is more known for its technique and form than for the thought content.

The next group of the dramatists like Mohit Chatterji in Bengali, Khanodokar and Satish Alekar in Marathi, Surinder Verma in Hindi, Chandrashekher in Kanada, Madurai in Gujarati, Balwant Gargi in Punjabi, Indra Perthasarathy in Tamil have not helped in

the advancement of drama writing. They have just innovated some of the techniques. No doubt a very large number of dramas are written now-a-days but a large number of them are either adaptations or plagiarism from the west. They have given frothy comedies or sentimental melodramas. Such plays cannot keep a great theatre alive. On the other hand there are better traind and better equipped actors and directors. But they are limited by the limitations of the plays which they have to stage. Still there is some improvement of the theatrical activity along with the improvement in the technical standard But some of the directors are either silent or repeating themselves. Sombhu Mitra seems to have gone into retirement. Similarly, the national school of drama has also started tending towards spectacular shows of foreign art or Indian plays. Utpal Dutt has over-worked a political theme to a boring cliche. Some of the established theatre makers like Habib Tanvir and Rajinder Nath have struggled on and produced some significant works. A few younger directors like Satish Akbar and Arun Mukerji in Bengal have appeared on the scene. But still the prospectus are not very bright.

Another development in the Indian theatre is the growing interest in traditional theatre forms. Rather during the last 5-6 years this very theme was exploited. *Girish Kanada*, Haya Vandan and Tandulkar's *'Ghasi Ram Kotwal'* or Habib Tanvir's *'Agra Bazar'* are mostly the plays of thus very type. Many other later writers have followed this very tendency. An attempt to use the traditional conventions and techniques. Habib Tanvir has given a unique artistic expression in his play *'Charan Das Chor'*. In this play a folk tale of Rajasthan has been presented after a comedy style with music and dance. It is important for simplicity and spontaneity. The success of this play has rehabilitated music and choreographic movement in drama. As a result of it, popular plays like *'Abu Hasan'* and *'Girish Ghosh*, have been rewritten. Similarly, Brechat's Indian musical adaptation in Marathi and three penny opera confirmed this tendency.

Now-a-days interest in Sanskrit drama is again revived. Some think that the Kalidas Festival at Ujjain in 1974 developed this interest. Their eminent dramatists like Alkazi, Habib Tanvir and Shanta participated with their Sanskrit production. This is led to some attempts to make the Sanskrit drama relevant to modern specta-ors. Another Sanskrit play *'Mudrarakshas'* produced earlier in

Bengali by Sombhu Mitra and last year in Marathi by Vijay Mehta etc. point out the search for an identity. These attemptrs are very valuable.

The recent developments in the Indian theatre have increased the number of the spectators also. In fact commercial theatres have been started in the metropolitan towns. There is great activity in the provincial capital. It seems that the new trends in the Indian theatre will bring fresh vigour and imagination to the theatre. But some of the people think that there should be a national theatre which may be able to integrate the activities of the different theatres in the different provinces. Efforts are being made to establish a national theatre. Still Indian theatre in the recent times has progressed a lot.

TRENDS IN CONTEMPORARY INDIAN ART

Art is a continuous process which involves in itself the social and cultural trends. As the life is dynamic so is art Contemporary trends in Indian art started with the three giants of the contemporary period– [illegible]
But they pas [illegible]
the contem [illegible]
school. Although the doyn of Bengal school Rabindra Nath and his close disciples were there to continue the Renaissance movement started in the beginning of the century but it became the main force by year 1940. New beginnings of the artistic impulse was felt with the emergence of the four artists of the new era. The world had been changed by the tremendous impact of science and industry after the World War II. The change in the social environment and political thinking and the economics had a great influence on the Indian artistic scene and the contemporary artists try to get over the nostalgic feelings of the Bengal school. They create a new ideology which was nothing more than the synthesis between the east and the west. Gaganendra Nath, Jamini Roy and Amrita Sher Gill have already paved the way.

Rabindra Nath had seen the world through a wider window than the parochial outlook of the Bengal school. While telling about the traditional aspect of the Indian art he pointed out, "when we speak of Indian art it indicates some truth based upon the Indian tradition and temperament " He further said that we must know that there is no such thing as absolute caused by restriction in human cultures , they even have the power to combine and produce new variations and such combinations have been going on for ages. This clearly shows that Rabindra Nath was not a fellow traveller of the Bengal school of painters. The Bengal had a national bias, but Rabindra Nath transcended these narrow limits. He felt that there should be reconstruction. This rebellious feeling was echoed in the works of the other three artists. Amrit Sher Gill protested against the way of the Bengal school rather she derivded this school. Whereas the other two worked silently in the new spirit. It will be correct to say that these four artists were exploring individually in the new fields without making a collective effort. It was the new light that helped in the resurgence of a new movement. It is, however, strange that none of the older artists from Bengal accepted the foreign medium of oil for his expression. Rabindra Nath used ink mainly. Gaganendra Nath stuck to water colours and Jamini Roy used oil as his medium though he was expert in using it. Jamini followed the traditional medium of tempera using earth colours. On the other hand Amrita Sher Gill started painting in oil. Here the Western ingredient of oil served as the body structure. Rabindra Nath's ink shows a new approach of expressing fantastic and unnatural phenomena which added a new force to expression. This was a great contribution towards introducing a new medium of expression though Rabindra Nath was not conscious of it. It appeared in spontaneous manner. Rabindra Nath always preferred to use his pen both the nib and the butt end. He also used cotton wool and the sponge for filling up the spaces Rabindra Nath's approach was expressionistic and there was a rhythmic pattern.

Jamini Roy, on the other hand, took up the basic value of the rural art. He emphasised the bold rhythmic line and bright flat colour. But Gaganendra Nath and Amrita Sher Gill seems to reflect the post expressionist artists of the West. Gaganendra Nath never vanted to follow the principles of Cubist school but only used the eometric figures of the cubes, squares and triangles in the perspective f proper light and shade for creating a surface pattern in his paint-

ings. Moreover, he enjoyed playing on the surface and created music patterns. This was a greater departure from the earlier land scape paintings. This new experiment breathed a fresh air. Amrita Sher Gill was indebted to Parsinean art. Although her later works were based on Mughal and Rajasthani art yet there was the influence of Gaugins.

With the birth of the impressionistic movement in France a new period in the history of art begins. Many improvements have revolutionised the artistic activities in the west. This has inspired many other nations to take it up. In India also with the decline of Bengal school of paintings new tendency in art developed. New inspirations were gathered from the different books published in the foreign countries. Similarly the impact of the new civilization which is dominated by science brought a great change. As a result of it new look has been given to art. Within a period of 35 years a great change has appeared in art.

It is argued that art of today is tending more towards a scientific process international in attitude and having no national bias. But it is difficult for any art to become international till it processes through the national climate because art is the product of the creative impulse conditioned by the environment. The influence of Americanism in art is a recent phenomena. The exhibition of American art held in Delhi and 3 Indian Triennales organised by Lalit Kala Academy in the years 1968, 1971 and 1975 left a great impact on Indian art. International art was developed. So Jackson, Pollock, Kline and many others have influenced the younger artists to a great extent. New influences in recent years have been diverse. It is quite strange that none of the 4 artists who gave life to Indian painting could influence the younger generation. Their total eclipse in the field of modern painting is quite strange. It was possible for Rabindra Nath to form a new school. Perhaps it is so because the social situation today does not make a definite appeal to the artist and as such there is no social painting on them. They are free thinkers and are not painted by nationality and society or culture. The social set up is not independent and so the artist is free to choose his source of inspiration. That is why modern artists are becoming individualistic. Inspirations are generally having their source in the international world. In the past whenever there was influence it was integrated

for example it took 200 years for the Greek influence be absorbed into Mathura and Amaravati sculpture. Later on Persian influence was assimilated in the Mughal Kalam. In the present day there is no time to assimilate and it is difficult to make a choice. That is why the national art is uprooted.

THE HANDICRAFTS OF INDIA

If a country's tradition of artistic skill is reflected in the creative richness of its handicrafts as indeed it is known to, then India is among the countries which enjoy a unique place of distinction with an exquisite skill matched only by super's creativity. Indian crafts men invest simple things of utility with rare beauty and colour little wounder that their work earned them lasting honour far beyond the boundaries of their land. Our handicrafts goods have been known to find their way into aristocratic homes all the world over. The glory of Indian handicrafts thus became a part of history and symbol of our heritage.

In this case craft means skilled labour in materials, not mere hand work invalving manual dexterity and a creation emerging from cultivation of the mind. Craftsmanship is a total operation involving the emotions, mind, body and the rhythm which such a co-ordination sets up. Craft is not divorced from mechanism, because from the earliest times man started evolving tools as an extension to his own limbs and did not rest content with the unaided skill of his physique.

Craft is as much an expression of the human spirit in material form—a source of delight—as any of what are known as fine arts. In the craft world, however, there need be no hiatus between service ability and aesthetics. One may say that in good craftsmanship the means, and the ends are identical, for while the article is useful it will also be rich in appearance and good to look at.

Craft has always been a basic activity, in human society, in fact it is considered more cohesive and permeating in human relation-

ship than even language, for it can penetrate many barriers to communications. Particularly has this been true of older societies such as those in Asia, south and central America, Africa and countries like Greece or Spain, where ancient tradition and cultures continue to produce powerful impressions.

The growth of crafts was the sign of the cultivation of sensitivity and the stirring of humanism. It stood for man's endeavour to bring elegance and grace into an otherwise harsh life and his yearning for something beyond this satisfaction of mere creature's comforts. No aspect of life was too insignificant or humble to lay claim to beauty or acquire sanctity as a symbol of good omen.

Indian handicrafts have been a class by themselves, they express a great national heritage while aesthetically fine they are nevertheless essential articles of utility. From the humble water pot to the carved knife to cut vegetables, from cloth which covers the human form to the fabric flung on the bullock's back, every piece was a work of art, enriched by beautiful lives, vivid colours and alluring designs. Nothing is created to be kept as a merely decorative piece.

Now let us discuss the variety of handicraft products, mainly the pottery work, textiles, embroidery, carpets, jewellery, gem engraving, wood work, dolls and toys.

First of all, regarding pottery work, we may say manufacture of both ordinary as well as glazed pottery is too universal to need enumeration. *Karigari* in Tamil Nadu is famous for its glazel pottery. Kashmir has ordinary clay pottery with a glaze done in a kind of a batik style which makes it decorative and attractive in its wide variety of colours. The painted pottery of Saurashtra and Gujarat is distinctive and wide range of shapes and painted designs makes them very attractive. The Azamgarh pottery in Uttar Pradesh is a unique type. Khurja in U.P. is another noted centre. It attained fame for the very noble style in which the pattern was raised by the use of thick slips into light relief.

Banaras and Moradabad are noted for the variety and excellence of metal work both plain as well as ornamental. Lucknow goes in much more for ornamental reporess of animal and flower motifs and pierced designs. Bengal and Kerala as also Karnataka and Assam are known for metal works. Ahmedabad has been famous for ornamental

braziers exquisite metal screens and van boxes. The little village of Murbad not far from Bombay has attained distinction in copper ware and oxidised wares mostly for use in sophisticated homes. Some of the articles in Jaipur are enamelled, making them fine pieces of art. Quite outstanding is the Tanjore work-some of the finest in India, with elaborately in-wrought ornamentation. Kashmir has a distinct metal ware of its own Here tin is soldered on copper and that has already been deeply engraved with a diffused floral design which is then filled in with a black composition.

Next comes the textiles. Cotton textiles seem to have been prevalent in India, from the earliest times. The enchantment of fabrics wrought through various techniques of weaving, dying, printing, embossing, embroidery etc, is an integral feature of each place. Each region has developed its own special characteristics, especially in sarees. One of the most famous is Banaras which is known for its silk and metal-ornamentation. These fabrics display some of the most complicated weavers in gold, silver and silk with an infinite variety of designs. Equally elaborate but entirely different in style are the Patola of Gujarat and the Ikket of Orissa. Paithan has a distinct style of its own in silk with elaborated gold ornamentation in pallar and border going back to 300—200 B.C. Chanderi sarees or turbans from Madhya Pradesh are soft and almost gauzy, woven in silk and cotton. They are simple but elegant and available in gentle and subtle shades. Then there are the Bandhanis or tie-dye fabrics of Kutch, Saurastra, Rajasthan and Madurai in Tamil Nadu. Next is the Embroidery. Probably the best known of Indian embroidery is the Kasida of Kashmir; the designs are dominated by the land-scape, flora and fauna which seems but natural with a profusion of colours. Phulkari is peculiar to Punjab though it is also found in parts of Rajasthan and a version of it in Chamba in Himachal Pradesh. Saurashtra and Kutch in Gujarat State and parts of Rajasthan have perhaps the most decorative colourful and ornamental embroidery. There is a close resemblance in the embroideries of these regions though each is distinctive. The Karnatak areas are famous for a beautiful style of embroidery known as Kasuti. Extremely delicate and very suggestive in plain spotless voil is the Chiken embroidery of Uttar Pradesh especially of Lucknow. Of almost equal delicacy but much rare is the Kantha of Bengal worked only by women mostly in native folk style but very rich in composition. The most outstanding and famous of all Indian embroidery and probably the earliest is gold

and silver work. This is divided into two main categories : Zardozi, the heavy and elaborate and the Kamdani the lighter and simpler kind. This is used to lend a dazzling appearance to the fabric.

Next comes carpets, jewellery and gem engraving. Carpets are one of the items for which India is noted. Kashmir is particularly famous for carpets of high quality. The designs, like all Kashmir products, have large Persian influence. Bhadohi and Mirzapur in U.P. particularly the latter are big centres for carpets mainly for export. Warangal in Andhra Pradesh has a very old carpet industry with its own special designs which are stately and attractive. The silk rugs made in Salem in Madras State, mostly in stripes of bright colours, are very distinctive.

The variety and exquisite workmanship in Indian jewellery has few equals. One of the finest specimens in jewellary filigree made in very thin silver wire are produced in Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Dharwal. A beautiful blend of the traditional values and contemporary aesthetics has been achieved for the articles made by Indian artisans through the work of Design Development Centres set up at Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi. For the combined research training and production, the central Handicrafts Development centre at Bangalore is the only institution of its kind in the country.

Still further development is essential in this field because it is now well known that handicrafts play a vital role in the country's economy providing employment to over 121 lakhs artisans. Their products earn the country a sizeable amount of foreign exchange. According to a report in 1973-74 it fetched nearly Rs. 161 crore. As such its share in the overall export of the country during 1973-74 was 3%.

To encourage the craftsmen a scheme of national awards to master craftsmen was instituted in 1965, under which gifted craftsmen are being honoured annually in recognition of their skill and craftsmenship the award consists of a tamruptra and an angavastrum and cash prize of Rs. 2,500.

Gem engraving, an immemorial eastern art was also popular and precious stones were cut in various shapes and designs. Silver jewellery has always been popular with the rural people and tribals.

Mat-making and basketry are amongst the most ancient Indian crafts because of the very nature of their composition and use

Lastly we take up the wood work, dolls and toys. Wood work like many other crafts has a very old tradition. Wood work and wood carving has been pretty widespread in India. Wooden boxes, chests, dolls, toys vessels, musical instruments, boats architectural wood work in houses and temples are monumental. The most common are dolls and toys made all over the country. But some have become well known because of their unique character or beauty. In Andhra colourful toys of light wood are made in Konda pally while Tirupati makes religious figures carved out of red wood. Nirmal makes not only toys but other articles also but brightly coloured and ornamental in Bengal and Bihar only the outline of the doll or toy is hewn out the rest is done by painting. Exquisite wood carving on objects of current use is done on walnut in Kashmir and on rose wood in Kerala and Madras. Regarding the development of the handicraft as it happened everywhere, following the industrial revolution, the easy availability, at much cheaper price of machine made goods, affected adversely the traditional craftsmen.

After independence a separate statutory body for the promotion of handicrafts on scientific lines was set up in 1952. Charged also with the task of organising necessary facilities and guidance by ensuring a dependable market, the All India Handicrafts Board set to realise its objective by undertakings to implement several schemes. The Board also decided to promote some of the lesser known crafts and traditional skills.

The Board is advisory in its functions. It advises the Planning Commission to allocate funds to various States Govt. for promotion of handicrafts.. Presently there are Regional Handicrafts Training Institutions operating at various places in India.

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SHOULD INDIA MANUFACTURE NUCLEAR BOMBS ?

Vico proclaimed that history is a regular alteration between progress and regression. Similarly, Saint Simon looked upon history as a series of Oscillations between organic and creative period. It is difficult to say whether the world is progressing or degenerating though we are thinking of exploiting the resources of Nature or of developing potentialities of human resources yet the different nations are manufacturing nuclear weapons. We talk of international co-operation and affirm the concept of international community but peace has been dodging us and war has all the time been threatening the world. There are means to understand one another but international misunderstanding has brought us to a state of war. So in the light of these considerations we will have to think whether India should manufacture nuclear weapons or not. We have been wedded to the policy of non-violence. Arduous effort for peace is the only sensible practical politics. India's effort to serve as a bridge builder has been misunderstood and criticised. We have been trying to lay the foundation of peace with patience, persistence and good-will. We have been thinking of bringing order and raising human dignity to recreate a fine vision of the world. In order to make this dream a reality we have been working consistently without being deterred by disappointments. Moreover, we have been thinking that it is better "to fall in a right cause .....than succeed in a wrong cause." With this type of thinking should we think of manufacturing nuclear weapons ?

In fact our democracy is on trial. It is threatened by the forces working within the country and without the country. We cannot build international peace till the rest of the countries are underdeveloped or are fighting with one another. Democracy must assist politically young and economically backward countries. Though we stand for the ideals of political freedom economic justice and international peace yet other nations do not accept our ideals. Pakistan has always been trying to blackmail India by crippling our economic conditions and by disfiguring the economic ideals. Similarly, China has always been casting greedy eyes upon India. The Chinese have been training Nagas and Mizos in order to create disruption in India. Naturally, these two nations whenever, they feel that their tactics do not succeed, wage a war against India. A war for a fortnight brings so much economic imbalance that we are unable to make our economy sound. If we manufacture nuclear weapons they will serve as a source of fear

for the adventures of these nations. It is not possible to make use of nuclear weapons in the event of any conflict because such an action would invite greater trouble and many big countries would jump into the arena. Still nuclear weapons would definitely make China and Pakistan less hostile.

In the present day world there is a race for nuclear weapons. Every nation is trying its best, if it is within her capacity, to manufacture nuclear bombs Naturally, if India manufactures these weapons she will get higher status. The bigger nations will not think that we are a weak nation which is not strong enough to stand the attack Even if we are dragged into a nuclear race, it would not make any substantial loss. Whether we are nuclear or not, the bigger powers will definitely drag us in international politics. And now-a-days coming into the nuclear race gives more prestige than anything else. The nations do not consider us just a backward country rather they will give us more importance and status. This is what India needs. India has the potentiality to become the leader of Asia. But if we are not strong, from the military point of view, no nation is going to respect us So if we want that there is a correct choice between cooperation and spirit of freedom on one side and atmosphere of fear and suspicion on the other side, we will have to create a better type of climate in the world Till that atmosphere is created, it is foolishness to talk of peace simply because others want us to talk of it.

It has been pointed out that India will have to incur a huge expenditure for manufacturing these weapons. Of course, it needs quite a big amount But can we afford to become weak from the military point of view ? If we stress this argument a little further we will have to say that there is no need for army because it involves heavy expenditure. For preserving sovereignty of the State, the different states of the world spend a huge amount of money, why should India hesitate from spending ? No doubt some of the developmental programmes will have to be given up yet it would be nothing more than fixing the priorities.

When we were helping Bangladesh, America paraded the 7th Fleet in the Indian Ocean. That was meant to create baseless fear in our minds and so to force us to accept submission before the U.S.A. It is still to find a nation that has thrived because of the aid given by the U.S.A. They have always been trying to get their personal benefits. Under such circumstances we will have to become as strong

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When we were helping Bangladesh, America paraded the 7th Fleet in the Indian Ocean. That was meant to create baseless fear in our minds and so to force us to accept submission before the U.S.A. It is still to find a nation that has thrived because of the aid given by the U.S A. They have always been trying to get their personal benefits. Under such circumstances we will have to become as strong

as it is possible so that other nations may not bully us to accept their domination.

Despite the community feeling which has been cultivated among the nations of the world mutual understanding of the nations is still a far cry. Distance has been reduced and the nations have come closer, at least geographically, but the bigger nations are creating problems for the smaller states. Similarly despite the civilised code of decency, we have still been using national power to tackle inter-state problems. In addition to this man is power-hungry and on the national level this desire is sublimated to national glory or racial purity. In the international field strange type of forces are at work ; political supremacy is determined by military power and military uses politics as a lever to get national gains. Under such circumstances even the smaller nations have started thinking of becoming nuclear powers. This policy has another advantage ; nuclear weapons serve as a damper for those nations which indulge in the adventure. India's position in the world-politics is novel and significant-novel because she is very sincere in working for peace where no nation allows peace to prosper, significant because it is one of the biggest nations blessed with all the necessary natural resources. India, in other words, has the potential power of becoming a leading nation of the world. China never wants that India should snatch Asian leadership. American influence in Asia would fade away if India becomes an Asian leader So India has no real allies though many nations may show lip sympathy. Russian help during Indo-Pak conflict was guided by political expediency than by sincere feelings towards India. In such a state of virtual isolation India should put her own shoulder to the wheel by manufacturing nuclear weapons.

India's policy of non-alignment which implies involvement without betraying any partiality or prejudice has created uncertainty regarding India's affiliations. To them India is not a dependable ally. Subdued criticism of Russian intervention in Hungry and vociferous denunciation of American policy in Vietnam have made India an uncertain ally. At least they are not sure about India's leanings. So we will have to depend upon our own resources for meeting the challenge of the enemies.

It can be further argued that India is flanked by two unprincipled and dangerous enemies, China and Pakistan. China, hungry for domination and Pakistan, with instinctive hatred for India, can pose

a perpetual threat to our security. *In order to frighten them away* from any adventure India needs nuclear weapons. Recent war with Pakistan cannot be considered a decisive victory ; half defeated enemy can never reconcile with the situation. Through pressures from outside Pakistan may tilt the balance in her favour ; as it was done at the time of Tashkented declaration. Till India herself becomes a power to be reckont with, our policy will always be conditioned by the external pressures.

China's nuclear explosions have made us to feel that our neighbouring nations are having an edge over us. This line of thinking colours public opinion. In case the Government fails to give a practical shape to it, fear may be the result. Nuclear weapons will give confidence ; a nation that has lost confidence cannot fight for the right cause and cannot have independent thinking. Similarly, some say that our policy of co-existence, peaceful solution of world problems would receive a serious set back ; we cannot preach peace while we are arming ourselves to teeth. I think India will be in a better position to dictate the terms of peace. A nation which has no military power is too weak to dictate terms. Its sincerity is termed as weakness and humility is branded as cowardice.

Under the present set of circumstances we cannot afford to keep away from the nuclear race. History is a testimony to the assertion that any nation that has failed to keep pace with the advancing nations has never existed for a long time. The dangers of attacks from different sides are always there because we cannot keep ourselves in a state of isolation. Possessing nuclear weapons is in the interest of national security and national prestige though some may consider it the neglect of national tradition. Are we to sacrifice exigencies of circumstances for traditions ? Policies must change. If we endanger our freedom and give initial advantage to the enemy, if we stick to ideals ignoring the realities, if we adhere to the principles and wink at present day needs we might go on dreaming about the future and ruin over present in that process. If we are to act in the living present and we must because present is culmination of the efforts of the past and the basis of the future struggle—we must manufacture nuclear weapons.

PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY IN INDIA

Nuclear capability is a status symbol, though tremendously expensive. In fact it is both a fetish and a vampire—fetish for the nation which has developed it and vampire if it is put to destructive uses. That is why India's nuclear experiment generated sharp criticism ; some remarked that India, by frittering away its meagre resources on ambitious nuclear programmes is following ruinous policy. The possible impact of this spectacular nuclear advance on the sub-continent and the rest of Asia cannot be predicted so early. But Pakistan's reaction clearly shows that she sees nothing but devlish design in India's nuclear experiment. Mr. Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, had declared long ago that if India had atom bomb, Pakistan must have it even if people have to live on grass. Pakistan's view is a distorted one. India's heart is, however, in the right place in this respect, as it is evident from the reiteration of her strong opposition to the military uses of nuclear explosions. It cuts along the misgivings developed by Pakistan ; the constructive objective of the low yield blast leaves little scope for fear or suspicions, India does not want to aggravate the situation already created by the arms race between the super powers.

Nuclear energy can be put to numerous productive uses. Nuclear powered generators produce electricity and nuclear energy in the form of radioisotopes can be used in medicine, biology, agriculture and industry. It can help in the preservation of food and developing high-yielding seeds. Recently vaccine for sheep has been developed with the help of nuclear enery. Mining will be facilitated.

In the days of energy crisis nuclear energy is a boon. Electricity can be produced even in those areas where there are no natural resources to generate electricity. The heat generated by controlled nuclear reaction can be used to boil water and the steam thus produced can be used to drive turbines for producing electricity. India has one nuclear power station of 420 m.w. capacity operating at Tarapur. Two power stations of similar capacity, one at Rana Pratap Sagar in Rajasthan and another at Kalpakkam near Madras are under construction and will be completed by 1975—77. A fourth station at Narora in Uttar Pradesh, on

the eastern bank of Ganga is in the planning stage. Atomic power, besides conserving fossil fuels such as oil and coal and reducing atmospheric pollution, has tremendous economic advantage over coal and oil because the problem of transport is obviated. The Tarapur station, for example, needs only 22 tonnes of fuel each year as compared to a coal-fixed station of similar capacity which would need 1200,000 tonnes annually Besides Uranium as fuel nuclear power stations need heavy water (denterium oxide) as a moderator. The fast moving atomic particles have to be slowed down by allowing them to collide with heavy hydrogen (denterium) atoms. Heavy water occurs in very small quantities in natural water and its artificial production is not only complicated but expensive also. The requirements, at present, are met by a plant with an annual capacity of 14 tonnes at Nangal in Punjab. The plant makes use of the throwaway water from the Nangal Fertiliser. Three more plants are under construction at Kota in Rajasthan, Baroda in Gujarat and Tuticorin in Tamil Nadu. All of these, together, will produce around 240 tonnes of heavy water annually. A fifth plant at Talcher in Orissa is in the planning stage.*

Radiation from radioactive substances like radium have for many years been used for the treatment of cancer. Cancerous cells, more sensitive to radiation than normal cells are destroyed by the rays. The nuclear reactor has opened up vast new possibilities as numerous other elements can be made radioactive by 'bombarding' them in these reactors Such substances can be of immense help in medicine, agriculture and industry. Radioisotopes are introduced into a system and their course is traced by means of radiation-detecting equipment. The use of radioactive isotopes has helped in diagnosis and the prevention of diseases, in the development of increased agricultural methods, making better fertilisers and efficient methods of insect and pest control, for detection of defects in machinery, better control of industrial processes, in oceanographic. "For example radioactive iodine (I–131) is the most widely used substance in medicine. The human thyroid gland in the neck selectively concentrates iodine from the blood for hormone synthesis. By using radioactive iodine the function of the thyroid gland can be accurately investigated. The method can also be employed for treating cancerous and other diseases of the gland. Cobalt–60 needles be implanted in body to treat cancer. A rad[illegible]
has immunised sheep from lungworm di[illegible]
every grazing season. Moreover young [illegible]

have been found to produce more mutton and the wool. A vaccine manufacturing unit set up in Kashmir valley under UNDP assistance programme will go into large scale production soon.

The scientists at Trombay have deposited radioactive sand in various harbours and have followed its movements on the sea-bed and thereby selected some possible sites for dredged silt. Radioisotopes can save a huge amount of money in the long run. U.S.A. saves nearly $ 100 millions through industrial application of radioisotopes. The Trombay Unit produces nearly 320 different types of isotopes and many of them are exported to the U.S. and Western Europe.

Perishable food stuffs if exposed to radiation are found to remain fresh beyond their normal shelf-life. Since canning was discovered (early 19th century) irradiation of food is a major break-through in food preservation. This method of preserving food has many advantages over other methods like canning, drying and salting ; it preserves flavour, odour and texture of the food stuffs. Moreover small doses of radiation can be used to prevent sprouting and the consequent spoiling of onions and potatoes. Higher doses (25 50 kilorads) can be used to delay the ripening of the fruits like mangoes, bananas. In this manner the shelf-life of the fruits can be prolonged. Even fish can be preserved for a longer time with irradiation. This process can also be used for disinfecting grains. These can be of tremendous gain to a hot country like India because the shelf-life of fruits and vegetables is very short. A modern laboratory at the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Trombay, is doing extensive work and semi-commercial food processing plants are to be set up. Adverse climatic conditions, inadequate provisions for storage, and transport problems account for a heavy less of agricultural and marine produce. Thus through food irradiation we will be able to improve nutritional of our people and utilise our limited resources to the best advantage.

Radiation can also be used to bring about genetic changes in grain seeds. This, in its turn, will produce mutant strain, having different properties. Plants, thus grown, will mature earlier and become fruit bearing earlier. It will also be able to stand adverse conditions like bad weather, pests etc. Trombay irradiation centre has produced a new mutant paddy strain, which matures three weeks earlier and yields 20 per cent more. They are carrying on research on groundnuts. There is another centre there, which studies the effect of radiation on growing plants.

INDIAN CULTURE AND ITS RELEVANCE

The culture of a country is the accumulated intellectual, emotional and spiritual wealth of that nation. As a mode of thought and action it evolves itself during the community life extending over centuries and embracing experiences, struggles, conflicts, failures and triumphs. In a way culture includes unconscious and sub-conscious mind of a nation that determines and governs the conscious efforts of the nation. It is the resultant of the wisdom and madness of the nation a as whole. Pastness of the present and the present of the past constitute the culture of a country. With the passage of time the grossness of the civilisation wears out and the core of it, which imperceptibly permeates into the current of the national life becomes culture. Geographical conditions, historical forces, political experiments, intellectual achievements and emotional reactions combined together act and react to produce what may be called culture. Indian cultural heritage has lure for the West because materialism, scientific progress and earthly attractions have so much disenchanted them that they want to take refuge in spirituality. Max Muller, writes in his work *India: What can it Teach us* "......that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life, again I should point to India." In fact Indian culture does not limit itself to a race or a nation but embraces the whole humanity—it is cosmopolitan.

Our culture has been called human culture—*Manava Sanskriti.* It is ingrained in human aspirations, human ambitions and emotions, human reactinns and human efforts. In this sense it is universal and eternal and has never been localised and limited. Despite incessant attempts of barbarous invaders to root it out endured and persisted. That is why it is known as beginningless (*anadi*) and endless (*sanatna*). It has not been grafted because it takes within its fold the best of all the cultures. What Professor J.B. Pratt said of the 'Vedic Way' (Hindu religion) is true of our culture—it "leads to life—life which is self-perpetuating, self-renewing .....". It has been adapting, evolving and regenerating itself.

Catholicity has given substance to Indian culture. There is liberal adjustment to other's opinions and views. In fact had our

Nuclear explosions can be helpful in building and mining activities. For building dams and mining deep under the earth nuclear explosion can help a lot. The explosions in which conventional material is used are neither effective nor economical obviously oil and natural gas exploration will be quicker and better through nuclear devices. For releasing natural gas this device was used by U.S.A. in 1967 in New Mexico. Atomic blasts can pullverise the ore making the extraction of the metal from the low-yielding fields possible. Similarly the water retention capacity of the dry lands can be increased with the help of small blasts.

India has vast potential for developing the natural resources and industry. Energy crisis which disturbed the economy of our country can be met only by harnessing the nuclear energy. In one of the articles H.J. Bhabha correctly pointed out "In a broad view of human history it is possible to discern three great epochs. The first is marked by the emergence of the early civilisation in the valleys of Euphrates, the Indus and Nile the second by the industrial revolution leading to civilisation in which we live and the third by the discovery of atomic energy and the dawn of the atomic age which we are just entering. Each epoch marks a change in the energy pattern of society". Clearly he had only the peaceful uses of nuclear energy in mind when he said so. In a practical sense, energy is the prime mover, which makes multitude of our daily actions possible. "It makes possible life itself" Mr. H.J. Bhabha correctly and succintly summed the Indian point of view when he said, "The discovery of atom has brought about a tremendous change in the energy pattern of society. It involves both a hope and danger. However there is not much reason to doubt that the intelligence of man shall overcome his fear and weakness".

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culture been religious it would have been unaccommodating because religions generate fanaticism; our culture is philosophical. The ultimate reality is called *sunya* (nothing) by Nihilists, *Brahaman* by the Vedantists, *Purusa* by the Sankhy philosopers, by *Iswara* the followers of the Yoga school, *Shiva* by the Shaivas, *Time* by those who believe in tima and *Self* by those who take it to be self. Clearly it covers a wide range of philosophical concepts. So tolerance is not imposed it is inherent in the very nature of our culture. The philosophy of *Anekanta* which advocates innumerable aspects of reality, the doctrine of *Syadvada*, which means the use of restraint in making judgemnts prove the catholicity of Indian culture. It became non-aggressive, non-violent, non competitive unsuspecting and even undefensive. In contrast to this Western culture was based upon Man versus Nature and so it is violent, competitive and suspecting.

Every culture provides a pattern of life, affords an insight into man's life and to this extent every culture is spiritual. But the spirituality of Indian culture lies in its being introspective. It examines Nature and Universe as comprehended through the consciousness of the individual. Such an apprehension makes the inexorable laws of Nature as a part of the self. Thus the same laws govern the world of phenomena and the consciousness of the individual. Man strives to discover balance between the consciousness of facts and the facts themselves. This synthesis between the self and the universe is not physical or material, it is spiritual and in a sense, moral. Man's primary function, as envisaged by such a concept, the apprehension of the moral nature of the Universe. His knowledge lies in understanding the universe and Nature in terms of consciousness of the individual; his faith lies in this very knowledge. So knowledge to us is faith. [illegible] us to the T[illegible] peace". re[illegible] on the [illegible] Science gives the knowledge of facts and ignores the moral consciousness and so the real nature of man and universe. The growing dissatisfaction and frustration of the modern world issues out from this ignorance. Hence persons like Alexis Carrol discover the remedy in "much more profound knowledge of ourselves."

The foregoing discussion gives the concept of man, as conceived by Indian culture. Man, according to our culture, is soul that transmigrates from one body to another for its evolution. Through the

series of lives it is evolving itself to Godhood. It is striving to merge itself with the universal soul; it yearns for higher heights, for its fulfilment and for its developments. This makes us other-worldly; we hate material pursuits and worldly attachments for the other life.

Obviously life is an act of sacrifice, it is an offering or a '*Yagya*'. An individual should dedicate his life to the service of God, and society at large. One should renounce personal considerations, material comforts and worldly desires for the sake of the other world and the other self that is society. One is to do one's duty without claiming rights. On the other hand Western culture is acquistive and self-assertive; it asserts individual rights as against the state and society. The commandments, which should guide the activities of the individuals are implied in *Dharam*. *Dharam* means *Dhriti* which further implies one that holds, supports and keeps everything in its proper place. It is a cementing force that binds together the divergent forces. The commandments are patience, perseverance, forgetfulness, self-control, cleanliness of mind, body and soul, reasonableness mastery over anger, knowledge and truthfulness. Dharam, as enunciated by Manu, enables an individual to become perfect being and a useful member of the society. The life of an Indian was divided into four Ashrams: *Brahmacharya*, which is the period of acquiring knowledge of this world and ultimate reality; *Grahasth* is meant to earn and feed the people and perpetuate his race; during *Vanaprasth* he renounces the world to attune himself to the Almighty; in *Sanyas* he is detached from his home, hearth and everything—he lives in the world but is not at all worldly and the whole earth is his home.

Man stands between animals and gods. It is through actions and conduct that he can rise higher to the level of gods and sink low to animals. Discipline or yoga is the way to achieve greatness—spiritual and moral. Human consciousness, according to Indian psychologists, has three aspects *viz.* awareness (*jnana*) desire (*ichchha*) and activity (*kriya*) corresponding to the modern concepts of *congition*, *affection* and *conation*, *Janana yoga* widens man's awareness, *chakti yoga* helps in controlling his desires and emotions and *karma yoga* trians him in righteousness and disinterested preformance of duty. There are other yogas to control other factors of human personality. A yogi may not make devilish use of powers so he is supposed to observe certain moral principles called *Yama* and *Niyama*. The

betas or gammas and social relations to a mathematical equation. The big powers are playing the game of chess with the nations as their stooges. The conscience of the nations has to be aroused and humanitarian feelings are to be developed. Geographical unity of the world is to synchronise with oneness of feelings, oneness of purpose and the realisation of the unity of life. Indian culture that embraces the whole of humanity has a mission in the present context of circumstances. It is to work for the good of humanity, remaining true to itself, and finding a forceful expression through one or the other person. A Gandhiji or a Nehru may give the lead in this direction—may become the unconscious builder of humanity or the man of *Destiny*. *Walt Whitman's* (the well-known American poet) discovery of the need for a '*passage to India*' is real panacea for the ailing humanity. Indian culture is more relevant today than it has ever been.

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... PROGRESS IN INDIA

...is founded on technology, science, art and religion ... issue from his total mentality" says ... new values, new sensibility, new aspir... Science, integrated with forces of productivity and so technological progress. Science, ... medicine, in social sciences has been trans... It has given new hopes, new motives and ... ingredients of human progress. Obviously ... have to lean upon technological progress ... social revolution. It is needed to support ... we want the scientist to make the idealo... ... and economic order sound. We

Yamas are (a) *Ahimsa* that is freedom from ill-will against all times (b) *Satya* that is truthfulness (c) *Asataya* that is abstinence from misappropriation of other's property (d) *Brahmacharya* i.e. celibacy (e) *Aparigraha*—freedom from avarice. The niyamas are (a) *Saucha*—cleanliness external as well as internal (b) *Santossa* - Contentment (c) *Tapas*—austerity (d) *Swadhyaya* i.e. study and (e) *Ishwara pranidhana* i.e. surrender to God. These are the processes that will lead to the perfection of man which means elevation of man to godly heights

The key-note of our culture is *Samanvaya*—a synthesis—an effort to combine the apparently discordant fragments of life and experience. According to Erich Fromm Indian culture, in its broader connotations includes all that has been achieved in the domain of thought and in the pursuit of the good life of people of India as a whole or in groups It has a great capacity to assimilate and digest foreign cultures for its own growth. This assimilation started ever since the most important companion elements of the Indian people (the Austric, the Dravidians and the Aryan speaking groups) began to form in the upper Gangetic plains as single people having a single Aryan speech and sharing the same tradition, the same way of thought, the same attitude and the same life. This culture took its origin in 1000 B.C. and took another 500 years to be fully characterised and another 500 years to expand from Gangetic valley to the whole of India. Thus it was a chemical compound of all diverse elements. Aryans, who worshipped Nature and believed in rituals came in contact with the people of Mohanjodaro and Harrapa civilisation who worshipped images and brought about a synthesis of their ways of life and experience. With the coming of Islam it was enriched with mysticism giving rise to bhakti movement. The impact of the advent of European powers helped further assimilation. Indian metaphysical thought had this very process of assimilation. Incidentally this accounts for the longevity of Indian culture.

The present day world is on the cross road, A step in the wrong direction might spell doom for the whole of humanity. The reason for this crisis are moral lapses, unethical approach and selfish interests. The root cause is scientific materialism, detached outlook and matter of fact attitude. Community life demands concessions, sacrifices and an attitude, which does not reduce human beings to alphas.

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SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS IN INDIA

"The life of man is founded on technology, science, art and religion. All four are interrelated and issue from his total mentality" says White Head. Science cultivates new values, new sensibility, new aspirations and new conceptions. Science, integrated with forces of production spurs new industrial activity and so technological progress Science, through its researches in medicine, in social sciences has been transforming the social structure. It has given new hopes, new motives and new environments—essential ingredients of human progress. Obviously newly developing societies have to lean upon technological progress to speed up the cultural and social revolution. It is needed to support the ideas which we cherish ; we want the scientist to make the idealogical foundations of our political and economic order sound. We

derive power and not truth from scientific progress. Without the boon of science the fundamental concepts, like welfare state would have become meaningless. No state can meet the challenge of other states without possessing sophisticated weapons. So the newly emerged states cannot have a smooth journey without technological progress. That is why the Government of India considers science and technology as a tool for social and economic development of the country. Its policy, as laid down in March, 1958 aims at fostering, promoting and sustaining cultivation of science and scientific research in all its aspects—pure, applied and educational, encouraging and initiating programmes for the training of scientific and technical personnel to fulfil the country's needs in science and education, agriculture and industry and defence. In the true spirit of the tradition of a welfare state, the government pledged to secure, for the people of the country, all the benefits that accrue from the application and acquisition of scientific knowledge.

Without an administrative structure, work may lack coordination, proper direction and planned approach. With this aim in view National Committee on Science and Technology (NCST)—an apex body to advise and assist the government on the matters concerning promotion of science and technology was constituted in 1971. "It has a mandate to prepare and update a national science and technological plan as an integral part of the general socio-economic plan". A new Department of Science and Tecnology, an executive arm of NCST, has also been created. It follows up the recommendations of NCST with the concerned Ministries and shoulders the ministerial responsibility of autonomous bodies like Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and the National Research Development Corporation of India. It gives grants-in-aid to the Indian Science Congress, the science academies, scientific societies etc., and the administration of three scientific surveys that is Survey of India, the Botanical and the Zoological Surveys.

The main functions of the National Research Development Corporation, an autonomous organisation set up in 1953, are to develop and commercially exploit in public interest patented and unpatented inventions of CSIR and other research institutions. The C[illegible] as a link between research and industry, it promotes [illegible] talent in the country through award of prizes for meritorious

inventions and rendering financial assistance to individual inventors for development of promising ideas.

For greater coherence and coordination in environmental policies and programmes and to integrate environmental concern in the process of planning for economic development as well as for science and technology, a National Committee on Environmental Planning and Co-ordination was set up in 1972. Its main function is to recommend to the Government on all aspects of environmental conservation and improvement.

Scientific and industrial research under state auspices is carried out through the CSIR. It has a big net-work of national laboratories and research institutions. In 1947 there were only two national laboratories but now CSIR has thirty nationol laboratories. The laboratories and research associations aided by CSIR have been reorganised into six group—the chemical group, the physical and earth science group, the biological science group, the engineering science group, the information group and the fibre group. The National Chemical Laboratory, Poona, undertakes basic and applied research in the physics and chemistry of solid states etc. The National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi carries out research in applied physics including industrial physics, thermionic emission, ultrasonics etc. The Central Fuel Research Institute, Dhanbad undertakes fundamental and applied research on fuels—solid, liquid and gaseous. As coal, in India, is an important source of energy for economic development the institute conducts physical and chemical surveys of Indian coals through seven coal survey stations. There are a number of other research institutes conducting research on indigenous ores and minerals, audio engineering, leather, biological sciences, electro-chemistry etc. Evidently we are covering a wide range of fields for conducting research.

CSIR sponsors research by assisting specific projects [in research establishments including industrial laboratories and universities during 1972 nearly six hundred and six research schemes employing 142 senior research fellows and 462 junior research fellows were in progress. The Council released 142 processes to industry for commercial utilisation in 1972, thereby bringing the total number of processes released to 583.

The Atomic Energy Commission is responsible for planning and implementing the development and utilisation of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The Commission has been successful in exploding a nuclear device on May 18, 1974. The Commission aims at utilising nuclear energy for generating power and initiating steps for the application of the energy in agriculture, industry, medicine and other areas. The Atomic Power Authority operates nuclear power stations in the country for commercial operation. The Bhabha Atomic Research Centre at Trombay is the principal centre for research. It has four research reactors : Apsara—a 1 mw swimming pool reactor; Cirus a 40 mw Canada-India reactor, Zerlina - a zero energy experimental reactor, and Purnima—a zero energy—fast reactor and many other plants. India holds a prestigious position in having an operational plutonium plant for reprocessing irradiated fuel elements to obtain plutonium The Bhabha Atomic Research Centre produces over 350 types of radioactive products. Medical application of radio isotopes are being studied at the Radiation Medicine Centre of BARC.

The Atomic Mineral Division of the Department undertakes exploration, survey and location work of important atomic minerals. There is also a seismic array operated by BARC that detects underground nuclear explosions. Eleven monitoring stations at different locations in the country measure radioactive fall-out from atmospheric nuclear explosions. The task of radiation protection has been taken up by the Directorate of Protection.

Apart from it considerable work has been done to study the biological action of ionising radiations, inductions of mutations in food grains of economic importance and to develop methods of preserving perishable food stuffs through irradiation.

The Department of Space and the Space Commission have the responsibility of developing space programme, space technology and its application. The major establishments under the department of Space are ; (i) The Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre ; (ii) The Sriharikota Range : (iii) The Space Application Centre (iv) The Physical Research Laboratory. There are a number of units working under the establishment. The Thumba Equatorial Rocket Station, Trivandrum is a UN sponsored sounding rocket range for scientific investigation of the upper atmosphere over the geomagnetic equator

which runs close to Thumba. Over 100 rockets were launched during 1972-73 from Thumba. Solid propellants for rockets are produced at the Rocket Propellant Plant. The Indian Scientific Satellite Project at Bangalore is designing a satellite indigenously. Another unit is developing an indigenous satellite launch capability for placing a scientific satellite of 40 kg. in a 400 km. circular orbit around the earth. The Space Applications Centre, Ahmedabad is responsible for various aspects of space application specially in the field of satellite communications, remote sensing and meterology. The main project undertaken by this Centre is the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment for demonstrating the use of satellite television for national development. The experiment will utilise the ATS-F satellite launched by the NASA of the USA. This will broadcast instructional television to about 5000 villages in different parts of the country. This experiment will be followed by a domestic satellite communication system for TV and telecommunication. There are many other units working in other fields of space technology. The Electronics Commission, set up in 1971, is to formulate policies in this field and direct and regulate their implementation.

The Indian Council of Medical Research has been promoting and co-ordinating medical research in India since 1911. It maintains eight permanent research institutes in addition to a number of semi-permanent units. The National Institute of Communicable Diseases, Delhi carries out research in communicable diseases. The King Institute of Preventive Medicine, Guindy, near Madras is a recognised post-graduate centre in microbiology. It also manufactures prophylectic vaccines, anti-tetanus Sera, tetanus toxoid etc. Research in tuberculosis and other chest diseases is conducted at the Vallabhbhai Patel Chest Institute, Delhi. Studies of morphology of tubercle bacilli and the effect on them of the different drugs constitute a special feature of its investigation. The Central Leprosy Teaching and Research Institute, Chingleput carries research investigation on clinical, bacteriological, historical and epidermiological aspects of leprosy. There are many other research organisations conducting research on a large range of problems concerning control, cure and prevention of diseases.

The Defence Research and Development Organisation, set up in 1968, has under its control 34 research organisations working in

the fields of armaments, electronics, aeronautics, high altitude etc. It maintains a close liaison with the scientific and technological activity within the country and abroad. The National Committee on Science and Technology has appointed a special group to liaise with the Defence Ministry to ensure that all the resources of civil science are mobilised for meeting the urgent needs of defence. Though we have not become self-supporting in defence production still we have taken some long strides in the domain of defence preparedness. The naval ship Vikarant, the indigenous tank Vijanta, the Gnat are significant contributions to defence preparedness. Since Chinese attack in 1962 India's defence has been streamlined to such an extent thatin 1972 we could give a crushing defeat to Pakistan.

Agriculture is another important sphere in which India needed a lot of development. Food shortage, low yield of crops had created economic crisis, appalling conditions for the peasants and so many other problems. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research, set up in 1929, is the apex body to plan, undertake aid, promote, coordinate agricultual and animal husbandry education, research and its application in practice. It is functioning through a net work of 23 national and central scientific institutes, 19 agricultural universities, 69 all-India Co-ordinated projects etc. High yielding seed has increased the agricultural production ; the yield of Mexican variety "Kalyan" is more than double the need of Desi variety. Many otherv arieties of wheat and rice have yielded encouraging results.

Research is conducted in Geology. Metereology, civil aircraft, roads, forests and anthropology. By taking an over-all assessment of the scientific progress we can say that it is commendable on the part of India to make so much progress in the domain of science. In this land where spirituality has been preached and practised science may be considered an affront of the ways of Nature and God ; Tagore's play *Mukatdhara* expresses a spiritualist's view of the developing technology. Still world has advanced so much in technology it will be suicidal to lag behind them. Industrial development, defence preparedness, economic betterment, agricultural production rather the whole gamut of progress depends upon scientific developments. Science is the condition of national development ; it can transform deserts into fertile lands, can assimilate new universe into

consciousness, new values in social structure, new insight into the mysteries and new hopes and fear.

TOURISM IN INDIA

Since the days of Hieun Tsang, travellling abroad has both been a hobby and a necessity. In those days travelling was a means of education and the way to acquaint their own nation with the ways of life of the other countries. The tours were more or less cultural missions from one country to another. But as going abroad was an arduous work and entailed a heavy expenditure, it was not possible for an ordinary person to undertake it for learning about the people, the culture and the flora and fauna of the other countries. In other words, it was of limited value and only at the level of the courts it might have been beneficial. Even during the 16th century the courtiers used to visit other countries though they preferred to see the more civilised people. Many went abroad during the Elizabethian period and imported sonnets and many other literary forms in England. Now-a-days tours are undertaken more out of curiosity than just as a means of education. As the conditions of the different nations, the ways of life of the people and their social behaviour are easily gathered from the literary works of that country so curiosity of the readers becomes sharper to have a first hand view of the conditions available over there. For example, Pearl S. Buck's book "Good Earth" excited the curiosity of a large number of the people about China. Similarly, George Orwell's "1984" created a stir among the intellectuals because it made startling revelations about the conditions available in Russia. So literature is a media through which we come in contact with other nations but by undertaking tours we see the real drama of the Panorma of life with all the colours and shades. The Utilitarian age of today has discovered in tourism as one of the industries with the greatest growth potential. Consequently most of the nations are throwing themselves into this industry with shrewed planning and great enthusiasm. Organizationally the operation of this

industry is conducted like those of the major industries of the world: air lines are entering the hotel business and are tagging themselves with agencies and the latter are combining with trans-continental groups to create organisational and marketing advances. Similarly, banks are also entering the travel trade through the purchase of travel agencies. As India is badly in need of foreign exchange so she has created Department of Tourism in the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation. It functions under a Directorate of its own. The function of this Directorate is promotional and organisational that is, it tries to disseminate information without and within the country about the tourist centres and also about various facilities which are provided to the tourists in India. Moreover, they also undertake to improve conditions for the development of tourism that is they make provisions for better communication and transport facilities, hotel accommodation to ensure convenience. In order to make the campaign of attracting tourists, the Directorate works in close cooperation with India Tourism Development Corporation which as a public sector undertaking is in charge of the commercial enterpises connected with tourism. They maintain the management of hotels, taxis, coach services, restaurants and motels.

In 1974, 4,23,161 foreign tourists visited India and this registered an increase of 13266 over the previous year. The foreign exchange earning from tourism amounted to 69.70 crores in 1974, and that is also an increase of over the preceding year. These figures should not make us to think that we have exploited the full potentials of this industry. In fact India's potential for tourism is great. Here we have master pieces of ancient culture and architecture, natural beauty which is exotic and mysterious. Apart from it there are huge industrial complexes which can interest some of the industrialists of the foreign countries. India has also managed to provide [illegible] regarding modern communication, [illegible] industry are [illegible] 30 millions earned nearly 750 crores of foreign exchange from tourists. Similarly Greece, a small country, as compared to India, earned hundred million dollars form tourism and Yugoslavia, despite its Communist regime, earned 150 million dollars. The scenic diversity, the various customs prevalent in India, colourful festivals, fine specimens of arts as in Ajanta and architectural triumphs as of the aj Mahal could not help us to earn more.

To attract tourists, attempts are being made to strengthen the infra-structure at home and to improve India's tourism image abroad. A provision of Rs. 25 crores was made for the development of the tourism in the Fourth Five Year Plan. The Department of Tourism has set up a chain of regional offices at home and abroad. These offices work in close collaboration with the State Governments, travel agents, hoteliers and embassies. The tourist offices at Brussels, London, Milan, Paris, New York, etc., are functioning under a scheme of closer coordination between the Department of Tourism and Air India. Moreover, a regional office has been set up at Geneva to promote tourist publicity and traffic from Europe. At present there are 178 hotels with a total capacity of 11,335 room. on the approved list of the Department of Tourism. Still to meet the requirements of the growing tourist traffic, a number of hotels have been approved in the private and the public sectors.

The Government also gives, to the new hotels, incentives in the form of tax and fiscal reliefs and the needs of the hotels are met on a priority basis. In the Fourth Plan a sum of Rs. 11·5 crores was provided for the assistance to the hotel entrepreneurs. Moreover, the Department of Tourism also provides accommodation in the form of youth hostels, forest lodges, tourist bungalows and camping sites. There are youth hostels at 17 places in India and tourist bungalows at 11 places. Moreover rest houses are also constructed at 10 wild life sanctuaries and national parks. The Government hes relaxed some of the regulations relating to police registration, exchange control, customs, liquor and landing permits. The validity of landing permits has been increased from 7 to 21 days and from many countries the tourists can come to India without a visa. Still the Government is exploring the possibility of further simplification of formalities. At present nearly 114 officially organised travel agencies are operating in the country. The Government has also succeeded in providing trained and educated travel guides to the tourists. For encouraging tourism there is intensive publicity campaign in the tourist markets of the world. The 16 tourist offices located abroad undertake various projects like organising travel seminars "India Nights", exhibition of films, providing publicity literature, and guide books in different languages. Even foreign journalists, photographers and T. V. film producers are entertained by the tourist offices to give a boost to tourism. The India Tourism

Development Corporation manages hotels, motels and travel lodges. At present the Corporation has 9 hotels under its management in the different parts of the country. The Corporation has also set up duty free shops at the four international airports and transport units at 16 centres An institute of tourism is proposed to be set up during 5th plan period for developing professionalism in tourism. The planning commission has accepted the allocation of Rs. 2.50 crores for the institute and $ 2,70,000 are from Indo-UNDP programme.

It may not be forgotten that tourism is not encouraged simply through publicity ; it is not a religion, it is just a diversion. The country will have to present such an image, that the tourist may be attracted to visit our country. Apart from it, they will have to cater to the needs and the tastes of the people belonging to the different parts of the world. It will be a better approach if in the foreign countries some taste for Indian dishes, etc. is developed so that when they come to India they do not feel just foreigners passing their days with all types of privations. It has been quite disturbing that the number of the passengers who skip India has been growing faster than that of the tourists touching the airport. The Minister of Tourism has, no doubt, tried to give a better type of look to the airport which presented a very dismal appearance earlier. The Government has also tried to make the places quite attractive and some of the ancient monuments of culture and architecture were in a very dilapidated condition. All of them needed at least a face-lift and now the Tourism Department is trying its best to make those old buildings and palaces at least presentable in their look, to the foreigners.

In fact, tourism should not be treated only as an industry rather it should be considered as a cultural contact at a wider level. In fact it will help in knowing the Indian point of view even in the international politics better if tourism develops in India. At this time the world is moving towards international culture and for that it is necessary that there should be a better understanding among the nationals at the social and cultural level. Moreover, too much of utilitarian attitude of the western world has created a lot of dissatisfaction among the people of the West. They are in search of better values of life which may give them mental peace and also a better mooring in life. Even in the victorian age, the American poet

Walt Whitman started singing about the "Passage to India". Similarly, David Thoreau also talked of spirituality and search for it in his prose writings. In this manner there is a great tendency on the part of the people of the West to learn from India. It is not possible to have that much of benefit through literature as one can have by coming in live contact with the nation. Under the present set of circumstances India of Gandhiji and Nehru, India of Guru Gobind and Lord Krishna has a lot of attraction for the People of the West because they are fed up with the scientific values which are corroding upon their social life and human values. So there are immense potentials for the development of tourism in India.

PRACTICABILITY OF THE SLOGAN 'GARIBI HATAO'

The slogan of Garibi Hatao had a double effect : on the one hand it captured the popular imagination whereas on the other it created a bit of confusion. The politicians and economists talked in such terms as carried little conviction for the common man. Their plea that "The cake has to be much larger before each can hope to have a little extra *piece*" and that every one will have to consume less and save more did not have the desired effect on the common man. Even if the people 'tightened the belt' as the leaders have been asking them to do, one could be never sure that his children would be better off. In fact whatever the common man saw around him was something very digusting for him. The taxes on items of daily use and also abnormal rise in prices, decrease in the employment

that the necessities consumed by the poorer sections of the society received much lower priority in the Five Year Plan if we compare them with the luxury goods. Consequently the promise of the eradicating poverty seem to be just a policy programme of the party in power. When the Minister of Planning set up the target date that

is 1982, many people had the uneasy feeling, that the story should not be what had already happened. They were reminded of the promises made by the Congress Party in the past and which remained unfulfilled. It was in 1956 at Avadi that the Congress undertook to build a socialistic pattern of society. Four years later at Nagpur it promised to promote co-operative farming and at Bangalore nine year later it chalked out more attractive and sweeping programme. Every time there was a lot of brave talk and even precise targets were set but nothing much was ac[illegible] new targets without batting an [illegible] common people started viewing the [illegible] very context. Some people think that, this big gap between promise and performance, has [illegible] is [illegible]nt [illegible] [illegible]bi [illegible] [illegible]ng [illegible] be toppled"

It is feared that even the administrators do not realise the full implication of the slogan Garibi Hatao. It demands not merely new policy but also new institutional set up. We have been looking to other countries for models but we should not forget that communist countries cannot serve as models. They have been able to do away with inequality but at the cost of freedom and initiative. So we will have to find out some method which is quicker enough to eliminate gross inequality without cutting into democratic freedom. If we want this very democratic system to become an instrument in removing poverty drastic institutional reforms will be needed and it is feared that there are no precedents to go by. Obviously it implies self-sufficiency in the different departments though the administrator seems to have no idea of achieving this self-sufficiency. They feel that in Garibi Hatao lies the seed of a new model of development.

If we think that the goal can be achieved through the implementation of a policy we are sadly mistaken. It is too much for us to demand from the Government. No democratic government can work till there is an active co-operation, and participation of the people

hatred for anti-social activities like hoarding, black marketing, etc. —activities which cripple the economy of a country. The industrialists will have to play their role in providing more employment opportunities, and giving adequate wages to the labourers. Apart from it, the ethical basis of social behaviour will have to be strengthened. Relations between the rich and the poor, employer and the employee will have to be that of mutual understanding and brotherhood. How far these changes are practicable is difficult to say. In fact the utilitarian outlook of the present day world is definitely at cross with this type of thinking. It will be difficult to imagine that a socie

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extent

more selfish tendencies are released than it is possible in any other administrative set up.

What the 'Garibi Hatao' slogan has done is to remove a lot of academic claptrap which had led the country farther from its declared goals. It has brought back the focus of our attention to concrete problems and issues of poverty, unemployment, inequality and social disparities. How these changes are to be brought is a difficult question to answer. In fact, apart from the half-hearted approach which the people in power may give the old mores and habits may also

work to the grown up and better diet to the children. How far all of these goals have been achieved is quite disappointing to think.

'Garibi Hatao' does not mean that there should be provisions

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to be imparted new skill. It is doubtful if the present education ministries at the Centre and the States can be efficient vehicles for this work; they are manned by the people who seem to have developed a vested interest in the expansion of higher education. Even to think of education as a welfare item is a gross mistake on the part of the administrator. Similarly public health also deserves top priority; we should improve the health of the people and remove physical and psychic debility which afflicts a large number of the people. They have been achieving targets of international agencies in the [illegible] Government is doing little to [illegible] the [illegible] not [illegible] have spread their tentacles and have awed the common man.

During the fifties the panacea for these ills was discovered in community development which unfortunately created a bureaucratic net work. From the mid-60s family planning gets a major share of the plan allocations and more recently they have thought of [illegible] But till the change is brought [illegible] life and of the working [illegible] to give practical shape to [illegible]

There is a possibility that the slogan was given in the heat of the moment to have some political gains and the ruling party might have discovered that it was not so easy for them to eradicate poverty [illegible] Otherwise also poverty in one or the [illegible] those which have commu- [illegible] dity in any shape exists, eco- [illegible] and richness are compara- [illegible] the Government want to [illegible] of 'Garibi Hatao'. [illegible] as an ideal before [illegible] field.

THE GREATEST PROBLEM OF INDIA IS THE LAND PROBLEM

OR

LAND REFORMS IN INDIA

Indian economy mostly revolves round agriculture and the productivity in agriculture is mainly dependent on two sets of factors technological and institutional. Among the technological factors may be counted agricultural input, improved seeds, better methods of ploughing, harvesting, irrigation that is all the factors which help to raise productivity. The institutional reforms include the re-allocation of the ownership of land in favour of the cultivating class. This means improving the size of the farm, providing the security of tenure and the regulation of rents. In other words many of the institutional factors like sub-division, fragmentation and adverse feudal relations often act as a disincentive for raising production and the farmers lose the capacity to invest in agriculture properly. No doubt there are different schools of thought which recommend different types of reforms or technological improvements. Technological changes can work effectively if institutional reforms are also introduced. The aim of the reforms is just to get the maximum advantage of the scarce land resources. The situation becomes all the more alarming if the growth of population is semewhat abnormal and there is a greater demand for agricultural products. India is facing this type of crisis and as it is primarily an agricultural country, land reform has been monopolising the planners' thought right from the beginning. Moreover, there had been a great exploitation of the villagers by the feudal lords and so the poorer sections of the society were on the increase, As India lives in the villages, so for the betterment of India the lot of the villagers was to be ameliorated.

The scope of the land reform entails elimination of intermediaries, regulation of rent, ceiling of land holdings, consolidation of holdings and organisation of cooperative farms. It has been considered that the agriculturist is builder of the social structure and to make it work for progress it is necessary to better the conditions of the villagers who till the land without getting the proper reward of their labour. Apart from giving a solid support to economy the purpose is to consolidate democratic spirit by making the agricul-

turist prosperous enough to participate in the working of democratic institutions.

When India achieved independence the tenure system was extremely unfavourable to the farmers and it was considered to be the root cause of all the problems concerning land. There were three important systems Zamindari tenure, Mahalwari tenure and Ryotwari tenure. Under the zamindari system which was introduced by Lord Cornwallis in 1793 in Bengal, land was held by a person whereas he would employ some tillers. The owner used to pay the land revenue. The British Government considered zamindars as the enlightened section of the rural population. In fact, the landlords used to persecute the farmers and at a stage they symbolised oppression and tyranny. So farming as a profession could not even yield subsistence wages to the farmers. Under Mahalwari system the land was held by the village communities and they were jointly and severally responsible for the payment of land revenue. They system was mostly the product of Muslim traditions and flourished particularly in the Punjab. Under the Ryotwari tenure land may be held in single independent holdings. The individual holders were indirectly responsible for the payment of land revenue. The first Ryotwari settlement was made in Madras in 1972. Immediately after Independence, the aim of the Government was to remove intermediaries and this became the cornerstone of the policy of land reforms. Actual abolition of intermediaries started in 1948 with the enactment of legislation in Madras. It was followed by legislation in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, etc. As a result of these legislations about 30·4 lakh tenants acquired ownership rights.

Similarly, some tenancy reforms have been introduced. Under the Zamindari and Ryotwati tenure, tenancy cultivation was prevalent in India Broadly speaking tenants used to be either occupancy tenants or sub-tenants or tenants at will. The occupancy tenants were somewhat better placed as far as their rights are concerned because this tenancy was permanent and could be inherited but the other two types of tenants were subject to exploitation. There were enhancement of rents, evictions and exactions. Many tenancy reforms were introduced with a total ban on sub-letting as well on tenancy at will. Similarly, some of the States have tried to regulate rent also. In Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan 1/6th of gross produce is fixed as maximum rent whereas in Assam and Mysore maximum rents vary between 1/4rd to 1/3th and in Punjab 1/3rd

of the produce is considered to be maximum rent.' But these regulations have not worked properly because the land owners somehow or other manage to get higher tenancy from the tillers. The Government has also tried to provide security of tenure. During the second Five Year Plan some provisions regarding the security of tenancy were made. Recently some of the States have gone a step further in giving the right of ownership to the tenants. For instance in West Bengal the tenants and sub-tenants have been brought into direct relationship with the State by the conferment of full ownership right.

Some of the landlords used to have very big land holdings. As a result of that they never devoted any attention to the development of that land to the fullest extent. It has been thought that till the land is not redistributed properly, neither will it conform to the current socio-political climate nor will it be democratic in its ultimate analysis. The rural population will never be able to reap proper benefits till the landlords have big holdings. Moreover the interest of the tiller will also not be so permanent because the landlord would not allow him to have some advantages that may bypass or overshadow his personal benefits, Otherwise also big land holdings were unmanageable so the Government has tried to put ceiling on the land holdings. In the Congress election Manifesto of 1972 it was clearly stated that a ceiling for a family of 5 members may be fixed within the range of 10 to 18 acres of perennial irrigated land. Some States have taken a step towards it whereas in the rest of the States the kulak lobby has been more successful in forcing the Governments to shelve these plans.

One of the most interesting aspects of land reforms is the Bhoodan movement. In fact it cannot be considered a part of land reform policy but it is definitely a significant contribution towards it. Acharya Bhave's movement does not have any legal sanction behind its persuasion because it depends more upon moral appeal. He conceived that land belongs to all and like air and water its use ought to be universal Similarly he believes that in order to eliminate economic inequality the land owners should share their lands with the tillers and the landless brothers. Up to March 1967, 42·7 lakh acres of land were donated under Bhoodan. No doubt it has been noticed that people sometimes donated land whose ownership is disputed yet this movement has created a proper type of atmosphere for better relations between the land owners and the tillers.

There has been a scheme for the land redistribution and Dr. Minhas studied this problem in a very shrewd manner. According to him no household ownership should be larger than 20 acres and the extra land should be distributed among the households in the four lower size classes in a manner that the per capita ownership of land in the four classes is equal. Similarly Mr. V.V. Giri in his book, "Jobs for our millions" has proposed a plan for cooperative land colonization of waste land. According to him there should be farms of an area of 1500 to 2000 acres and the total number of families employed should not exceed 100. So far no positive steps have been taken by the Government though at some later stage they may have to take this into consideration.

Cooperative farming in India is considered to be the ultimate objective of land reforms. Mahatma Gandhi once wrote, "I firmly believe that we shall not derive the full benefit of agriculture until we take to cooperative farming". There are various opinions regarding the organisation of cooperative farming and its feasibility. The Cooperative Planning Committee has classified coopertive farming into four types that is cooperative tenant farming, cooperative collective farming, cooperative farming and cooperative joint farming. The first implies that a number of farmers own land which is divided into smaller holdings given to individual members of the society. Second type of cooperative farming means that the members surrendered their land and their equipments are jointly owned and the work is done jointly. In the third type of cooperative farming all the farmers in a village join together and combine all agricultural operations. The last type of farming implies pooling of land and the cultivation joint. The cooperative in farming societies in India are of two types, the service cooperatives and the cooperative joint farming societies. The main purpose of the service cooperatives is to provide agricultural input like seeds, fertilizers, etc., and the second type of cooperatives pool the land of the members for reaping the benefits of large scale cultivation. But the cooperative farming as practised in India has not been successful. By the end of June 1970 there were 8,819 cooperative farming societies working in India. This means that hardly 2% of the cultivators have organised cooperative farming and they cultivate not more than 5·75 lakh hectares that is barely 0·4% of the total cultivated area. It is felt that there is difficulty in making the farmers of the different status to cooperate with one another in a proper manner.

"Land reforms were conceived in proper perspective but they were so much riddled with loopholes" that it became difficult to consider them a great success. Moreover, there has been a very slow progress of the land reform policy. As a result of it the landlords and the zamindars have been able to hoodwink the Government in retaining their land holdings. Legislation has completely failed to prevent sub-letting and rack renting. Some of the economists feel, that the land reforms have created a bigger gap between the landlords and the tenants. Even a ceiling on land holding has not been properly imposed. The draft outline of the Fourth Plan has admitted "the main object of ceiling which is to redistribute land to the landless at a reasonable price on a planned basis has been largely defeated". Moreover there has been the lack of uniformity in the execution of the policies. Particularly in the regulation of rent there has been a wide difference in the case of different legislations of the different States. So land reform policies are steps in the right direction, but the implementation has not been effective. For getting better results and overall reforms that is improvements in the living conditions of the villages and supply of better seeds and agricultural implements would be necessary.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN INDI

Art has always been patronised by the kings and the courts all over the world. Even in the present age it will not be possible to encourage artistic activities if the State does not take initiative though democratic countries allow all types of activities, which do not interfere with law and order situation, to flourish. The policy of state control is necessary even if democracy stands for independence and freedom of the different social groups and the individuals. The preservation of culture, howsoever ancient it may be, is necessary otherwise the progress of the country will be in the wrong direction. This does not mean that in the present age of internationalism we should try to retain some of the national features which may segregate us from the world community. In fact culture establishes a contact with the past and it gives a direction to the future of the nation. That is why

most of the States aim to preserve the cultural heritage of the country and to inculcate art-consciousness among the people. In India this type of activity of the State becomes all the more important because no organised effort was made by the people to promote cultural activities. Our culture was preserved in folk lores, sculptures, dances, festivals which had become almost a routine work for the people. As such they were divorced from a conscious effort to encourage artistic activity. After Independence a separate department of culture has been set up, though as late as the year 1971, for the promotion of art and culture. The agencies through which the objective of promoting the high standard of creative arts are achieved are three namely Lalit Kala Akademi (Academy of art), Sangeet Natak Academy (Academy of dance, drama and music) and Sahitya Academy (Academy of letters). Similar institutions are established at the State level also. These academies have done commendable work since they were set up.

The Lalit Kala Akademi was set up in 1954 for the promotion of fine arts. It is supposed to bridge the gulf between the artists and the people ; it tries to increase the understanding of Indian art both within and outside the country. This objective is achieved through exhibitions and publications. Among exhibitions organised in India are the National Exhibition which is held annually and the Triennale-India which is an international exhibition held once in three years. Apart from it awards are given to artists every year. To celebrate the 26th anniversary of the Indian Independence in 1972 an exhibition showing the development of contemporary Indian art entitled "25 Years of Indian Art" was held. The Academy also organises artist camps, seminars, lectures and give grants to recognised art organisations throughout the country. Another organisation which encourages the cultivation of aesthetic tastes is the National Gallery of Modern Art established in 1954. It has been able to collect over 2500 works of art representing various styles. Similarly the Union and State Governments encourage the development of museums of national importance. Even private museums are given financial assistance and scholars doing research in the field of museology are given grants. At present there are more than 200 museums in the country.

The Sangeet Natak Academy was established in 1953. It works for the development of dance, drama, music and the folk arts. It has

by the Academy. To encourage the growth of book production the Government of India has set up National Book Development Board in 1957. A programme at a cost of Rs. 12 crores was undertaken in the Fourth Plan to produce university level books in Indian languages. The National Book Trust which was set up in 1957 encourages production of good literature and makes it available at reasonable prices. Up to March 1973 more than 1,000 books in various Indian languages have been released by the Trust. The Trust also organises national book fairs and exhibitions and the writers' camps. In order to boost up the sale of Indian publications abroad the Trust participates in international book exhibitions. In response to the recommendations made by UNESCO, the year 1972 was observed as International Book Year. It has also up authors' guilds, workshops for the authors, editors etc. Even the publication Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting publishes a large number of books and pamphlets in various languages. Children's literature is brought out by the Children's Book Trust. Even libraries can be considered a part of promotional programme of literary activity. There are more than 10,000 libraries of all descriptions in the country and out of them 8 libraries, attached to the institutions, have been declared as nationally important libraries. There are some specialised libraries also which provide facilities to research scholars. Public libraries run by voluntary organisations are given assistance by the Government of India for the purchase of books.

The Indian Council for Cultural Relations has done a commendable [work in strengthening the cultural relations between India and other countries. Their main activities are development of Indian studies in foreign universities and vice versa, through the exchange of professors on teaching assignments, publication of periodicals, books, exchange of cultural delegations, scholars and artists. The Council has also instituted Jawaharlal Nehru Award for the promotion of peace and international understanding. India has entered into cultural agreements with 27 countries and into cultural exchange programmes with 11 countries.

In fact cultural activities reflect the prosperity of the country. They not only serve as a diversion for the people but they are essential to preserve the national traditions. In India it is necessary to give direction to the cultural activities otherwise there is a danger of reducing them to activities for monetary gains only. If the artists do not earn at least the subsistence wages, art may come to an end.

Artistic activity is one of the most important human activity because it embraces not only the professional life but also the spiritual and aesthetic life of the individuals. Love for arts creates nicety in outlook and thinking which is necessary for mutual understanding and national integration. Artistic tradition in India dates back to the earliest ages and if we ignore it we may have to make a beginning and that will be too costly in terms of efforts for us. So the cultural activities of the Indian Government need more expansion with more embracive and extensive scope. We have done a lot in this direction and still much is to be done.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

Unemployment is one of the scourges in the developed countries and one of the greatest problem for the developing countries. Human beings are the means as well as the ends of production. So it should be borne in mind that they should neither be treated as only means nor as only ends. If there is no manpower planning, it is not possible for the country to get rid of frustration and consequently the rebellious tendencies are generated among the masses. For a democratic country unemployment brings a blot which cannot be washed off by all the welfare functions which the Government might be performing. It will not be incorrect to say that the very institution of democracy becomes weak if the number of unemployed people abnormally increases in a country. Apart from it as manpower of a country is not fully utilised there are no chances of developing the economy of the country on the appropriate lines. The process of development necessitates the enlargement and the diversification of industries which demands more manpower of various degrees and skills. Similarly education will have to be job-oriented. Since the supply of manpower cannot be decreased so the demand for it should be increased by proper planning in the Public and the Private Sectors. For India unemployment cannot be more disastrous than it can be in other countries ; here the opposition does not indulge in constructive criticism rather they want to get advantages of the

party in power and the unemployed people can easily be exploited for regimenting their forces against the Government.

India is an under-developed country. That is why the nature of unemployment is completely different from what it is available in more advanced countries. It is definitely not the result of the deficiency of effective demand rate it is because the resources and the potentialities have not been fully utilised. In India there is what is called by the economists 'frictional unemployment and also under employment or disguised unemployment'. It is the consequence of the shortage of the capital equipment or the other necessary resources. We can find a remedy for this unemployment in expanding the stock of capital assets or units of production. The nature of unemployment in rural India is somewhat different from the urban places. Rural unemployment has two aspects—seasonal and perennial. As agriculture is the most important occupation in the rural areas so large number of the people remain unemployed for a number of months during the year. The small scale industries could not be properly developed in the rural areas and handicraft has almost died out. Apart from it there is perennial unemployment. About 72 per cent of the working population is engaged in the primary sector and as a result of it there is no increase in the area of cultivation though there has been increase of population engaged in our agriculture. The result is that the marginal productivity of increased population is almost zero. The workers seem to be employed but actually they do not get even subsistence wages, and their level of income is fantastically low. Moreover this unemployment is widely spread over the entire agricultural population.

The problem of urban unemployment is also a complex one. Unemployment can be categorised under two heads : *i.e.*, unemployment among industrial labourers and unemployment among the educated middle class. With the spread of urbanisation a large number of people from the villages have shifted to the cities but the rate of expansion of industries has not been keeping pace with the shifting of the workers. As far as urban unemployment among the educated people is concerned it is more alarming. Even in 1931 the Labour Commission emphasized that this type of unemployment is of an all India character. In fact the education is a sort of learning, writing and reading with very little emphasis [illegible]
[illegible] ly there has been development of [illegible]

fields are so limited in number that there seems to be no diversification. As a result of it there are a very large number of the unemployed educated people in India. According to a recent report the number of the unemployed in India stands at 81·52 lakhs. This type of unemployment is generally considered to be very dangerous : Sadler Commission pointed out "the existence and the steady increase of a sort of intellectual proletariats not without reasonable grievances forms a menace to a good Government especially in a country where......the small educated classes are vocal".

Economists have discovreed various causes of the unemployment in India. According to Dantwalā Committee, "in an economy like this there is very little open or outright unemployment but there would be considerable seasonal unemployment and or under employment". This is somewhat eccentric type of view which the Committee has given because unemloyment is not the result of the factors which Committee implies to keep in mind. Despite the best efforts, *i.e.*, the creation of Directorate General of Employment and Training as well as Employment Exchanges .it has not been possible to help the educated and others to get suitable employment. Even the Five Year Plans have failed to achieve the objective and with every successive plan the percentage of unemployed has all the time increased. At the end of the First Plan the unemployment was 2·9% but at the end of the Third Plan it rose to 4·5%. It has been estimated by the Bhagwati Committee that the unemployment will go on increasing every year till effective steps are taken. In fact the exploitation of the resources and providing the employment opportunities to the job seekers have not been properly undertaken by the Government. Similarly studies made by the N.S.S. show that under employment has also been on the increase. According to the data collected by the N.S S. in July 1958 and 1959 the degree of under employed was estimated to be 14·7% and the number was estimated to be between 150 to 160 lakhs. Similar is the case with the disguised unemployment. The economists have not taken up the empirical studies about the magnitude of this type of unemployment so far. Some initial estimates show that in India nearly 17% of the labour suffers from this type of unemployment.

One of the most important causes of unemployment in India is the growth of population. After independence the rate of increase in population has been 2·2% between 1951–61 and 2·5% afterwards. At this rate the population of India stood at 58·8 crores in 1975 and

it is estimated that about 4 million people enter the labour market every year. Rural unemployment is on the increase because there is a greater pressure of population on the land and the backward nature of cultivation still exists. Moreover handicrafts have declined in the villages and the villagers have no alternative occupation in the rural areas. Urban unemployment is because of various other reasons. Educated unemployment is because of the increasing turn out of the school, colleges and universities. The mass production of educated people has created a gap between employment opportunities and the job seekers. The educational system is still producing clerks and very little emphasis is laid upon specialisation or technical training. Moreover, the industrial production due to foreign exchange difficulties, famine conditions and rising prices has declined appreciably. Consequently a large number of the labourers cannot be absorbed. Apart from it there is a greater tendency on the part of the younger generation to take up white collared jobs instead of working with their hands. Hence the employment opportunities have decreased a lot.

All the Five Years Plans' objective was that more employment opportunities should be created. They have been recognising that providing employment is not just a welfare measure. It is rather a necessary part of the strategy of development in the poor countries. It has generally been assumed that economic growth leads to increase in production and so increase in employment but some of the statistics released by the I.L.O. falsify this fact. We may say that particularly in the developed countries there is no correlation between economic growth and employment but in the developing countries there might be some relation because of technological changes. We will have to take some measures which are completely different in the case of urban and rural sectors. No doubt rural electrification, road construction, house building, irrigation works and small scale industries may help to reduce the rural unemployment yet some other positive steps will have to be taken. In the Fourth Five Year Plan the Government took some positive steps in providng employment to the people. Rural works programmes were organised and each selected district got an allocation of Rs. 2 crores. Another scheme envisaged in the Fourth Plan was to have 41 projects, each project covered 20,000 families consisting of marginal farmers and agricultural labour. For this also 47·50 crores Rupees were allocated. Similarly 46 projects for small farmers development agencies were set up. There

was also a plan to have integrated dry land agricultural development. Many agro service centres were opened. A crash programme for rural employment was introduced in April 1971 with the total outlay of Rupees 150 crores. To a great extent the Government has been able to achieve her targets.

Professor Dandekar in one of his studies, "Problems of poverty in India" has argued that urban poverty is an overflow of rural poverty and he thinks that if there is rural development then urban unemployment can be finished. The Planning Commission has made a total allocation of Rupees 238 crores for various special unemployment programmes for 1974 and 1975. Mr. Bhagwati, the Chairman of the Committee, set up by the Central Government, has given his own suggestions for combating unemployment. According to the Committee there should be rural electrification, housing, road building, and minor irrigation works which may provide employment to a large number of people. The Committee has given the greatest importance to irrigation and rural electrification. In order to create employment in the industrial field the Committee feels that it is essential that under utilisation of installed capacity should be reduced.

It has been seen that every Five year plan increased the number of the unemployed. So some concrete steps should be taken to eradicate this evil from our country. Firstly, there should be a change in the pattern of investment. At this time we have been able to build a reasonable infra-structure and industrial base. So the investment should be in those industries where the employment opportunities are greater. This type of policy fosters social stability. Moreover small enterprises as against large enterprises should be encouraged. This type of policy will definitely increase employment opportunities. Apart from it, the Government will have to take steps to discourage the introduction of automation at least for some years because this will definitely decrease the employment opportunities. The new growth centres in the small towns and rural areas must be encouraged. By establishing the small industrial complexes greater employment opportunities can be provided. The most important change that the Government should bring, is with regard to education. Till the very nature of educational system in India is not changed we cannot decrease pressure upon office type jobs. In fact the Gandhian way of providing educational system on vocational basis should be more emphasized. Even the National Labour Commission suggested tha

the educational system should conform to the demands of high level manpower. Clearly the problem of unemployment in India is mostly the result of lopsided industrial development. If the proper emphasis is laid and priorities are fixed it is not difficult to eradicate unemployment. Rather this is one of the most important aspects of the catchy slogan which was given by the party in power 'Garibi Hatao'.

TWENTY YEARS OF PLANNING IN INDIA

In Directive Principles of State policy it has been clearly laid down that India will be building up a socialistic pattern of society. It was never a slogan or a political catch phrase, rather the Government has been wedded to this policy. So our planning from the day of its inception has always been directed towards this very goal. No doubt there is some cynicism in some circles that our planning has failed to deliver the goods. But this is the only way to produce dent on poverty and unemployment. Otherwise also, the social objectives which we have laid before us *i.e.* objectives of the abolition of poverty, provision of adequate means of livelihood, reduction in inequalities of income can only be achieved through planned economy. Without planning we may not be able to fix our targets and to fix our priorities which play an important role in the direction which is to be given to the economic development.

The basic objective of planning for socialism is to provide minimum level of living. The 'garibi hatao' slogan definitely hits the nail on its head, though the real achievement of ours will lie in achieving our goal. We have not been able to achieve this goal because it has not been possible to step up production in so short a time. Similarly, our other objective was to eradicate the evil of unemployment. This is the bottleneck which should at any time jeopardise political stability as well as economic prosperity of the country. Twenty years of planning has not been able to solve this problem. Rather at the end each plan the number of the unemployed has been on the increase.

and it is wrong to judge the achievements of our planning by the performance spread over these years.

ONLY SELF RELIANCE CAN SAVE INDIA

Low

Geographically India is sandwiched between enemies, politically the Super Powers are all the time bullying us, economically we are considered to be backward. The main cause of political instability, and economic crisis is that we do not exploit our resources fully to meet our needs. The bigger powers all the time try to make capital of the weaknesses of the developing nations because it serves their interests in the international field. No country can exist if it does not try to become self-reliant. If we go on falling short of foreign exchange, food stuffs and many other articles there would be no economic growth as well as no independent foreign policy. It should be admitted that international life is almost a community life and the nations have to depend upon other nations for one or the other commodity. It will be unwise to look for essential commodities from the foreign countries though some of the commodities we cannot produce at all. For example, even if we exploit our resources to the fullest extent we will not be able to meet our requirements of petroleum. So self-reliance is given a limited scope in the context of the present day circumstances. It generally means self-sufficiency in food and essential raw materials, in defence, in technical manpower and in the capital goods sector. Apart from it there should be a long term equilibrium in the balance of payment. Out of these factors also priority will have to be given according to the conditions available in a particular country. The principal objective of growth in India is to provide better living standard for the poor. So it will be necessary to become economically independent atleast in those areas which have strategic importance. According to the Fourth Five Year Plan draft self-reliance means not only "freedom from dependence on foreign aid but also involves masses and the establishment of an acceptable minimum standard of living for the continuing rise in the stardard. With this self-reliance therefore has been linked the capacity for self-sustaining growth".

big gap between promise and performance, ideal and practicability. The goal seems to have disfigured because we have not been able to direct our plans in such channels as may lead to democratic socialism. No doubt banks have been nationalised, general insurance has also been nationalised, yet the most important industry *i.e.* agriculture has not been touched so far. Leaders have been talking of nationalising sugar industry and vegetable ghee industries yet steps in this direction have also not been taken So it seems that socialism has remained a mere slogan so far, but we are not to blame the Government only because there are so many bottlenecks in achieving this goal. In fact, we are passing through a developmental stage and our democracy is also infantile, as a result of which we cannot take bold steps

Sometimes by taking very bold steps the nations create conditions for political instability and that will be suicidal for India. Approach paper to the fifth plan also states that removal of poverty and attainment of self-reliance are the two objectives of this plan. They want to achieve this goal by an overall increase in the rate of growth of domestic product and also by creating employment opportunities, and by emphasising agriculture and basic industries. Apart from this they have envisaged vigorous export efforts and import substitutions and equitable price, wages, incomes plans. Clearly, the Government has realised that the cause of poverty are under development and inequality ; slow growth and reduction in inequality are the only ways to remove poverty. That is why greater emphasis is laid upon production. Similarly, expansion of employment is considered extremely essential for achieving the goal of democratic socialism. Unemployment apart from creating frustration makes the nation to be stuck up as far as the economic progress is concerned. These aims can not be achieved over night because some times some unforeseenable circumstances hamper the proper working of the plan. Indo-Pak war had definitely given a serious blow to the implementation of the plans and more recently abnormal rise in prices has brought many difficulties in the ways of the Government. Rather it has neutralised the efforts of the Government to eradicate poverty. This does not mean that we should give up planning because planning for a growing economy is extremely important. No country can make progress till there is a planned development and till proper emphasis is laid on the proper priorities. India is to come out of the darkness of economic backwardness which has been growing for the last one century or so. Obviously, twenty years is a very short period in the life of a nation

and it is wrong to judge the achievements of our planning by the performance spread over these years.

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Geographically India is sandwiched between enemies, politically the Super Powers are all the time bullying us, economically we are considered to be backward. The main cause of political instability, and economic crisis is that we do not exploit our resources fully to meet our needs. The bigger powers all the time try to make capital of the weaknesses of the developing nations because it serves their interests in the international field. No country can exist if it does not try to become self-reliant. If we go on falling short of foreign exchange, food stuffs and many other articles there would be no economic growth as well as no independent foreign policy. It should be admitted that international life is almost a community life and the nations have to depend upon other nations for one or the other commodity. It will be unwise to look for essential commodities from the foreign countries though some of the commodities we cannot produce at all. For example, even if we exploit our resources to the fullest extent we will not be able to meet our requirements of petroleum. So self-reliance is given a limited scope in the context of the present day circumstances. It generally means self-sufficiency in food and essential raw materials, in defence, in technical manpower and in the capital goods sector. Apart from it there should be a long term equilibrium in the balance of payment. Out of these factors also priority will have to be given according to the conditions available in a particular country. The principal objective of growth in India is to provide better living standard for the poor. So it will be necessary to become economically independent atleast in those areas which have strategic importance. According to the Fourth Five Year Plan draft self-reliance means not only "freedom from dependence on foreign aid but also involves masses and the establishment of an acceptable minimum standard of living for the continuing rise in the standard. With this self-reliance therefore has been linked the capacity for self-sustaining growth".

If we analyse this comprehensive definition we may say that self-reliance does not imply the stoppage of all imports rather it points to a continuing equilibrium of payment. Moreover it is to be coupled with self-generating economy and the level of domestic savings should be on the increase. Self-reliance also implies the creation of capacities in those areas of production which require imports. Productive activity cannot be given a fillip till there is properly trained manpower. Keeping all these points in view planners in India have all the time been thinking of self-reliance. In the First Plan top priority was given to agriculture so that India may become self-sufficient as far as food production is concerned. In the Second Plan rapid industrialisation and diversification of economy were envisaged. In this respect State was to play a very important role in the process of industrialisation Third Plan gave a very clear enunciation of the aim of self-reliance by envisaging self-generating economy. The Third Plan laid emphasis upon heavy and basic industries and it was made as the corner-stone of the policy of growth. As a result of it the basic industries like steel, machine building, chemical industries etc. were given top priority. It also wanted to raise the rate of domestic savings from 8·5% to 11·5%. No doubt the domestic resources were to be supplemented with external assistance. This clearly shows that foreign aid was not completely ruled out in the case of Third Plan though it referred to the imports *substitution. This* Plan also emphasized the increase in the production of foodgrains. Fourth Plan went a step ahead and the concept of self-reliance was developed in a clear perspective. It was interpreted to mean two things —freedom from foreign aid and acceptance of minimum standard of living with a promise of rise in the standard. In order to achieve these goals of self-reliance the Fourth Plan mentioned three imperatives ; first the need for bridging the payment gap and ending the dependence on external credit, second the need for building country's capacity for capital formation and adequate consumption, third to achieve these objectives with price stability. Secondly the Fourth Plan wanted to increase agricultural production, develop capital formation in machine building industries and foster expansion and diversification. It also wanted to link up education with the developmental and manpower requirements, the mobilisation of resources by plugging the gaps in the tax system and permitting technological research. The Plan clearly indicated that family planning should be emphasised because "failure in this field will give a set back to our attempt at self-reliance". The planners hoped to attain self-sufficiency by 1980-81.

concede that the imports of the foodgrains have been on the decrease but we have not become self-sufficient.

As far as national defence is concerned we have attained a reasonable degree of self-reliance. The wars which we waged against China and Pakistan helped us to think of this problems in its correct perspective and to have a proper type of defence preparedness. No doubt we do not possess highly sophisticated defence equipment still we have created many departments for research. We have been able to produce Vijayanta tanks in addition to anti-tank equipments. Similarly now the production of Gnats has been purely indigenous. The recent nuclear explosion has given a lot of confidence to the people of India because now we feel that it is possible to produce nuclear weapons whenever we like to produce them. The full details of all the sophisticated weapons which India has been able to make are not available still we feel that now India is better placed as far defence production is concerned.

Self-reliance in the case of the balance of payment is represented by balance of trade. In recent years there has been a rise in exports. For example in 1970-71 exports accounted for 93·5% of imports. India has also been searching for import substitutions. So there is a great possibility that with the passage of time we may be able to bring a reasonable and favourable balance of trade. The recent hike in oil prices and also in other import commodities has created a little imbalance still there is a possibility of India's meeting her imports through exports. It is useless to mention the various efforts which have been made to have the imports substitutions and also export promotion. It should not be ignored that India is a developing country and for diversifying our economy we will have to import capital goods and equipment and we are also paying heavy interest on our debts. Moreover in order to absorb modern technolog India will have to import technical experts. Lastly the trade deficits are still continuing. Consequently in the near future we may not be able to bring proper balance of trade. Moreover we are still getting external assistance from the foreign countries though during 1973-74 we have been able to pay back our debt obligations up to the tune of 30% of the country's export earnings.

During the Fifth Plan self-reliance and the removal of poverty are considered to be two important channels of development. The Fifth Plan has limited foreign aid to Rs. 1,203 crores only. The recent rise in the prices has definitely created much difficulties for the Government because it has hit the poor m . very hard. Still at one

or the other stage we will have to become self-reliant because the USA has been continuously threatening to stop foreign aid. In fact all resources should be mobilised because it is vital for our survival as an independent nation for our political stability as a democratic Government and for proper economic development. It is felt that our policy towards consumption and saving will have to undergo a drastic change and the people will have to make sacrifices. For all these it will be extremely necessary to create confidence among people and they should have faith in the policies of the Government and also in the institution of democracy till they are politically aware and consider it essential to participate in governing themselves it is not possible for the Government to impose certain policies upon them. Self-reliance will have to be evolved out of the social efforts and providing a framework for it will not serve our purpose. But only as a self-reliant nation we can survive even if we have to undergo all types of privations and make all types of sacrifices.

"EXPORT OR PERISH"

Since the advent of [illegible]

are limited to certain areas of the world. So export is absolutely [illegible]

foreign trade if we are to exist as an independent country. This does not mean that we start producing things on a larger scale and start exporting them without taking the conditions of the market into consideration. In other words it is necessary that those finished goods should be exported which are in great demand in the world

market. Moreover, we will have to compete with so many other [illegible]

cient in producing as many goods as it is possible. Another problem

exporting some of the goods to other countries also and developed the export potentials to some extent. In 1947-48 the raw material content of exports declined to nearly 31% whereas in 1938-39 it was 45%. At that time India used to export some kinds of food stuffs [illegible]

During the Third Plan period the export earning did not rise significantly and they shot up to Rs. 802 crores in the year 1964-65.

It will become quite clear if the pattern of exports is studied before we take up the case for increase of exports. India's exports are broadly classified into four categories :

(1) Tea, coffee, pepper, tobacco, oil cakes etc.

(2) *Hides, skins, wool, cotton, mica, iron etc.*

(3) Manufactured goods like jute manufacture, cloth, leather, cement, chemicals, vegetable oils, silk etc.

(4) Capital goods like machinery, transport, iron, steel ete.

From this pattern of exports one can easily conclude that it is all a typically undeveloped economy. Consumer goods claim the major share of exports. The average annual export of tea in the recent year has been Rs. 141 crores whereas jute, yard and manufactured goods have the annual average of Rs. 215 crores. India has been able to earn in the year 1971-72 Rs. 129 crores by exporting cotton yarn and Rs. 85 crores annually by exporting hides and skins. The exports of mineral ores further earned Rupees 133 crores per annum. Despite the increase in exports [illegible] foreign [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] an [illegible] Co-opera- tion India has been exporting between 9% to 10%. Among the non-Sterling areas trade with the socialist countries hasd eveloped further. This survey of the exports clearly shows that we will have to diversify export commodities and there will be a greatr control upon the quality of the goods which are exported.

The export policy of the Indian Government [illegible]

[illegible] First Plan period the accumulative Sterling balances provided a sort of cushion and we did not think of promoting exports but soon it was discovered that our Sterling resources were dwindling and export promotion has become a necessity. So there was no export

consciousness in India till this situation arose. It is pointed out by some of the famous economists that India missed even the available opportunities. During the Second Plan period it was realised that export promotion should be preceded by industrialisation and the planners realised it while drafting the Second Plan. Still the average export earnings during the Second Plan period were even lower than the First Plan period. So further emphasis was laid during the Third Plan period on the need for export promotion. It was decided that the domestic consumption should be restricted and the cost structure of the export industries must become competitive and industrial licensing policy should encourage export. In 1962 import and export policy committee known as Mudaliar Committee was set [illegible]

[illegible] allocation of raw materials, income-tax relief to the export industries and the promotion of exports through import entitlements. The Government took many steps accoding to the recommendations of the Committee and Export Promotion Advisory Council consisting of the business and the industry was set up by the Central Government. Even Devaluation of the Rupee was mainly meant to increase exports.

During the Fourth Plan the target of exports set for 1973-74 is Rupees 1900 crores. In other words they hope to increase exports [illegible] 540 crores during this period of 5 years. The Govern- [illegible] tant [illegible] ora-

Still it is not possible for us to survive as an independent nation if our exports do not surpass our imports. It is with the help of foreign exchange that we can undertake more schemes for the deve-

[illegible]

year 1974-75 has also been extremely export oriented. If it is a success it will positively have a salutary effect upon our economy.

ROLE OF PUBLIC SECTOR IN THE INDIAN ECONOMY

[illegible]

dence. One of the most important reasons is to ensure rapid growth of the economy. It is only through the public enterprises that economic uplift of the country is possible.

In fact economically India had been a backward in this of fast it is not possible to waste

[illegible]

the public sectors is to remove the regional disparities. As the [illegible]

[illegible]

manner.

[illegible]

cial enterprises were divided into : (1) under construction ; (2) run- [illegible] ... developmental concerns ; and (4) [illegible]

[illegible]

economy of the country, but in some important sectors like agriculture, State enterprise has no role to play but the Government is taking up industries of nationl importance under its ownership. Recently, the banks have been nationalised and the general insurance companies have also been brought under social control. The Government has been thinking of nationalising some other important industries like sugar and vegetable ghee.

Public sector has an important role to play in capital formation. It also helps in the flow of goods and services in the economy. The

of developments make the industrial base quite strong. During the three plans, it was quite clear to the

The annual report on the performance of public sector undertakings during 1974-75 records a number of heartening trends. The sector as a whole earned a pre-tax net profit of Rs. 312.48 crores against Rs. 148.68 crores in 1973-74 and about Rs. 81 crores in 1972-73. The total turnover was an unprecedented Rs. 10, 217 crores against Rs. 6,777 crores in 1973-74. Equally remarkable was the improvement in capacity utilisation. Compared to 41 in 1972-73, 54 units worked to more than 75 per cent of their total capacity. The numbers of units utilising between 50 and 75 per cent of capacity increased from 16 in 1972-73 to 27 1974-75, and of those utilising less than 50 per cent declined from 25 to 16. The record is all the more creditable because 1974-75 was a particularly bad year for the economy. Yet, it will be foolish to be complacent. To some extent at least, the profits were higher in 1974-75 because the inflation

Nevertheless, it is gratifying that many units, which were earlier in the red, yielded some dividends. This doubtless enabled the Government to take a policy decision against rendering any budgetary support to the working capital requirements of such units, which are to fend for themselves on a strictly commercial basis through the financial institutions This will induce a measure of responsibility in their financial management. Dr. Ajit Mozoomdar Expenditure Secretary and the head of the Bureau of Public Enterprises, expects the total profits to rise to Rs. 350 crores in 1975-76. This expectation is by no means exaggerated given the vastly improved climate in the country. But a great deal will depend on the offtake of the production from the units. Dr Mozoomdar has doubts on

the production schedules of a number of units. This is a matter that affects the private as much as the public sector and merits a serious review.

[illegible]

supporting services. The cost of the centre will be Rs. 2·48 crores of which Rs. 1·29 crores will be UNDP assistance. A national welding reseai [illegible] ment [illegible] lakhs [illegible] Bhop [illegible] devel [illegible]

It has been pointed out by some of the economists like Dr. [illegible]

have to give greater importance to public sector and we will have to rely upon public sector for a number of years to come, so role of public sector is definitely of greater importance to Indian economy.

BIG POWERS AND INDIAN OCEAN

Huxley once said if at all third world war is fought it will be due to fear complex. Perhaps, this very fear complex manifested itself through different shapes during the different periods after the second world war; at one time it emerged in the form of cold war whereas at another time the big powers started having military alliances and provided either nuclear umbrella or some military assistance to their allies. This type of planning created a sort of war hysteria even among those nations which could not think of war at all. As a strategy they wanted to have control over some oceans also, if not control at least influence in one or the other way. But fortunately, Indian Ocean upto 1973 had been a zone of peace. No doubt there was some movement of the big powers in the other oceans; Atlantic has always been harbouring western navy and the Mediterranean and the Pacific have been guarded by the U.S. 6th and 7th Fleets since the late 40's and also 50's. Strangely enough at a time when the differences between the big powers are bridged and there seems to be a better understanding particularly between the USA and Russia there seems to be a great desire on the part of the big powers to have some bases in the Indian Ocean.

The United States had no permanent basis in the Indian Ocean upto 1973 because Britain had a powerful military base around the Indian Ocean in order to protect her materialistic interests. Britain had bases in Aden, Singapore, Persian Gulf etc., and for the US it was not necessary to supplement the bases of Britain. Another reason for the indifference of the US to have military bases was that Russia was not a great naval power by the end of the second world war and so she could not pose any threat to any country through her navy. At this time it became necessary for the US to have their bases in the Indian Ocean because Britain had to give up its bases east of Suez because ...tain has no overseas territory now. Moreover the West has started

feeling that Russia has developed a naval power with submarines armed with nuclear missiles and warheads. That is why Western nations started talking of power vacuum around the Indian Ocean and so they wanted to cover up that vacuum by making their presence in one or the other form. Infact this has been the American policy in the South East Asia. So the US entered into an agreement with Britain to have powerful naval and air bases at Diego Garcia. The presence of the US Navy at the Indian doors has definitely some bad effects upon our policies. This has made us as well as other littoral States to fear the motives of these big powers. In fact India has definitely more fears because America had been threatening India or had been using her proverbial gunboat policy by sending the 7th Fleet to Indian Ocean when India was engaged in war with Pakistan. It was in 1973 that at the instance of India and the other littoral states, UN Assembly had declared the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and asking the Member states to keep this Ocean free from nuclear weapons. But the West had no intentions to honour the UN resolutions. Some of the responsible political leaders of the West considered calling Indian Ocean a peace zone somewhat unrealistic. Rather after the Arab-Israel conflict in 1973, the US Defence Secretary announced the policy of increasing the US nuclear naval presence in the Indian Ocean. Earlier the US had a naval base on the island of Sheikhdom and the Bahrain in the Persian Gulf which she had been asked to vacate. As a result of an agreement in December 1970 the US and Britain had decided to have some joint base at Diego Garcia but have termed them as facilities to the US. Now the US has changed it into full-fledged naval-cum-air base. The explanation which has been given by the Western countries for this move is that the naval presence of Russia is dangerous especially in view of the strategic implication of the possible re-opening of the Suez Canal. They fear that the Soviet Black Sea Fleet will have an easy access to Indian Ocean. American position at Diego Garcia is pregnant with dangerous consequences for the littoral states. It will result in the big power rivalry in the area thereby endangering peace. The French already have a naval base on the northern tip of Malagasy and French Somali land in the Red Sea is another symbol of the military presence. It is authoritatively learnt that Chinese ase helping Pakistan to build its naval power and the Russians may jump into this fray because she may consider it a direct threat to her security as the Russian territory will be within the striking range of these missiles. Moreover, America [illegible]
and by having a mi [illegible]

States. Diego Garcia is in the heart of the Indian Ocean and only a 1000 miles away from the Southern shores of India. So India comes within the range of the bombers. Apart from it all the littoral states including the oil rich West Asian countries come within the range of the long range bombers. In this manner the US will be able to dominate the sea routes and pose constant threat to the sovereignty and independence of the country in the region. The US presence with all the nuclear weapons would corrode upon the independence of the littoral states. It would become a convenient place for the oil rich states in Middle East or South Asia. The recent policy of the US clearly shows that America will not hesitate to use force if the oil rich countries did not give them adequate quantities of oil. This type of step may also make the Western Powers to exploit the natural resources of the Indian Ocean. So far there is no international law regarding exploitation of the sea bed. America with its advanced technology and rich material resources and highly trained manpower can easily exploit the resources of this Ocean to the fullest extent. Lastly this may result in an accidental war as well. When the nuclear armed war ships of the western countries and the safety units will be operating in close proximity there is bound to be greater tension and so unintentional conflicts.

In fact Indian Ocean is strategically very important. The trade routes between Europe and South Asia, South East Asia and the Far East pass through it. Moreover, all the littoral states except India are weak and in the big event of any bullying by the powers they can't do anything. So they will be subject to exploitation by these bigger powers. The mineral and other resources of the Indian Ocean can go a long way in providing a large number of metals and other things to the western countries. It has been pointed out that the sea floor of the Red Sea has thermal spirits which are heavily impregnated with zinc, copper, lead, gold and silver estimated to be worth about 2 billion dollars, even in the Indian Ocean there are deposits of Manganese and other precious metals. UN team submitted a report on Indian Ocean on May 11th. A cording to the team which was headed by Dr. Frank Barnaby a Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, there is a new strategic naval arms race. The report further says "there is already evidence that the action reaction phenomenon may well be under way in respect to the shore base facilities as well as in respect to the naval deployment". It has also been pointed out that as a result of the US, UK move in Diego Garcia, Soviet Union appears to be developing the facilities in Barbera. They specifically say that the

involvement of the great powers in the Indian Ocean was not in the interest of 30 hinterland and littoral states. The report reviewed the recent deployment of the warship, the maintenance of military installation and naval bases. They say that the communication facilities set up by the US provide command and control network for the nuclear submarines. Regarding the US, UK move about the Diego Garcia experts said that if that proposal was carried out one great power would be a major strategic naval base from where it could command nuclear submarines in Indian Ocean. This would make the other powers also to search for a base. Clearly under these circumstances, Indian Ocean has become an arena of world politics and that ultimately would to effect the non-alignment policy of India. India never wanted interfere with the affairs of other nation, but does not want to suspend her interests in those nations. If the big powers with their war weapons are present in the Indian Ocean perhaps India may be forced to give up the policy of non-alignment and that may result in greater tension in the world as well as in Asia.

DANCES IN INDIA

"In India all forms of art have a sacred origin and the inner experience of the soul finds its highest expression in music and dance. The Hindu attitude towards art has been an expression of the inner beauty or divine in man brought it into close connection with religion". The origin of the dances in India can be traced back even to the earliest times, *i.e.*, even to the Vedic times. In the Riga Veda the dancers are described as persons kicking up dust while clasping each other in the dance. Apart from it the devotees also used to dance before their gods. Even the artists who were known as Sailushal (actor dancer) have been referred to in the religious books. There used to be even war dances and those dancers were "robed in garments fair as heaven". There used to be even some heavenly singers and musicians to entertain the patron God of arts, *i.e.*, Indira. In the Vedas the dancing nymphs (Apsaras) have been described as "broad hipped slender waisted and graceful as panthers". Similarly there were other forms of dances in the ancient times. The oldest book available on drama is the *Natya Sastra* attributed to the second century A.D. The Natya Sastra defines

drama as something comprising of speech, dance, music etc. Similarly, the Ramayana also refers to the dances in those days. In Ramayana aud Mahabharta we find many passages which refer to music and dance. At one of the times Arjun disguises himself as a dancing master and taught the art of dancing to Princess Uttara Kalidasa has also given great importance to the arts in his dramas. In one of the plays the heroine Princess Malavika is a perfect daucer. Even in the temples the hero used to be dancers. The cult of Siva gave new significance to the dances in India. So dances in India date back to the earliest possible times.

One of the classical forms of dance is *Tandava*. According to the Vedas this dance was composed by the stage directors and God called Bharta, the sage musician, and at that particular time they say Brahma created nymphs. Tandava classical dances takes its name from Tandu, the celestial attendant of Siva. Apart from it another dance Karana is a unity of dance only gestures, steps and attitudes are brought in harmony through the rhythmic movements. A sequence of six or more dances of this type constitute *Angaharas*. The record of these dances can be found in the temples in south India through the image of Siva. These classical forms of dances were very popular in these times. Through these dances there were rhythmic expressions and mimicry. They used to give a good exposition of moods, sentiments and ideas by means of gestures, facial expressions and movements of the body. Generally movements of the head and eyes indicated the mood and the movements of the hands the specific meaning and the gesture of the head gave many other pieces of information regarding emotions, moods etc. The movement of the eyeballs as has been pointed out expresses permanent sentiments. In all there were eight movements of the eyeballs representing eight permanent sentiments known as *Rasas*. In these dances use of symbolism and gesture was made. Some of the writers have pointed out that gestures were first devised "to evoke spiritual moods through ceremonial acts, imaginative performance as rituals". Similarly symbolism was to give some intellectual appeal to the spectators.

Bharat Natyam is the dance of the Devadasis who performed these dances during the days of Pallava and Chola kings. The performance of dance was considered a holy offering by them. It is said that the first dance performance of a Devadasi get him the title of Talaikole from the king in whose presence it was performed.

This type of dance in its pure form interprets the language of rhythm and melody in curves, angles and other movements. The *Adavu* is the best unit of dance composition and a series of these constitute a dance composition and a series of these constitute a dance pattern. Similarly there are some movements and poses of the acts but the characteristic pose of this type of dance is the deep knee bend. The paces of timing in the dance is Jwati and there are five kinds of Jwatis which are said to have emanated from the five faces of Lord Siva. There are three speeds and timings of dance. The beauty of the dance lies in the movement of the neck and the rhythmic inflexion of the breast etc.

There are very subtle movements of the different parts of the body. It may have different forms like *Vandana, Alarippu* etc. *Vandana* is almost an invocation to the Gods, the earth and the dance masters. *Alarippu* is a ritual dance. Then there is also *Sabada* which is a song of praise addressed to a deity or a king. *Tillana* is a joyous fantasy and is considered to be perhaps the most graceful [and the lyrical of all the styles of Bharat Natyam. It also includes Varna gestures, songs, ritual dances etc. A special type of dress is worn for this dance. It has been pointed out that Natya is "a poem made visible". In this case the dramatic representation of all four kinds —gestures, arts, costume make-up and temperament play their role. The important role is played by the hands because the ideas are conveyed through the movement of hands.

In Andhra and Tamil land some dance dramas, were popular. One of the types of dance dramas, was staged at night in Kuchhipudi and in some temples of the south. A critic has pointed out that the *Byruva* which is an entrance dance "not only announces the respective characters but also delights the audience and establishes the emotional continuity". Then there are sole dances which render some mythological episodes. Another dramatic dance *Mundukasabda* is the dance legend. *Mohini Avtar* presents the legend of Amrita Manthana. The dance dramas of the south are dramatised stories of the Bhagwata Purana which Kuchhipudi has been presenting for many years. But modern India lost contact with the villages where these dances were performed. In Kerala there used to be devas in the temples. So various dramatic performance accompanied dances.

One of the most important dances practised by the Keralites is *Kathakali* dance. It is also a sort of dance drama in which

singers accompany the actors. The actors generally war masks and the mask design and combination of colours symbolises character type. The mask design transforms actor into symbolic character and these personages give colour and aesthetic dimensions to the dramatic presentation. In *Kathakali* the woman is portrayed as an ideal woman. The *Kathakali* songs are in the Sopana style because this is the only suitable type for *Kathakali* dance. It is one of the essential part of the dance drama. The basic position of the limbs and feet and their movements are as exacting as is the case of some western dances. The knee bend and the feet are set apart and toes bend forward. There are some invocational dances which are generally performed behind the stage curtain It contains all the varieties of foot work. The *Kathakali* gesture language is grammatically complete in symbols. The movements of the hands represent various things and the movements of the eyes express the eight sentiments.

Another type of dance drama which is popular in Kerala is *Krishna Nattam*. It owes its origin to Zamerin Raja of Kozhikode as it is mostly performed in very sanctified atmosphere, so it has retained its traditional form. It consists of eight phases covering Krishna's life from his birth time to the time of his return to heaven. Masks carved out of wood and attractively decorated are worn by the important characters. There are also some shrieks of the demon characters. Here also the music is in Sopana style. The play begins with an elaborate drum beating. Then the different eight phases dealing with the life of Lord Krishna are displayed.

Another dance which is known as *Bhagwati Tirayattam* is in devotion to the Goddess Bhagwati. The drums beat, the pipers play and the Goddess is invoked with songs and when *Bhagwati* returns to the temple she performs a ritual dance *with measured* steps and rhythmic gestures. We have also the music dance ritual of Travancore. *Kolam Tullal* is a ritualistic *form of music* dance performed at the Kali temples during the religious festivals. Various types of music are used. Moreover there *is Yakashagana* form of south Indian dance drama. It is an *open* area dance drama. It is generally accompanied by bag pipe music and theatrical splendour. Most of them are performed *at the* night time. The head dress is given particular significance. The *Yakashagana* mode of dance is the swinging dance o. ... Yakshas. This dance

is said to be the childhood dance of God Indira. The movements of these dances are full of vigour and grace but women dancers are generally feeble.

Some of the dances are popular in Orissa also. There were ritual dances of the Maharis. These dances retain the pure form of the ritual dances. The *Dev Puja* is a beautiful ritual dance. *Batunirlu* combines pure dance and ritual offerings. The dance begins with a beautiful plastic attitude. There are more than sixteen ritual offerings and some interludes of the dances also. The plastic movements and the gestures of the Orissa dance are of special significance because they are expressive and are also impressive. The people of Serakella perform another type of dance which [illegible] Chhau. This also includes [illegible], which is a very [illegible] *Mayura* the peacock dance is a beautiful dance fantasy that depicts the happy mood of the peacock. There is Chhau solo dance and also the dance of Yaksha which are quite popular there.

Kathak dance is another important Indian dance. No doubt this dance received a setback during the Muslim invasion still it was very popular in India. The most important style of Kathak dance is *Nritta* dance with foot work. The beauty of this dance lies in harmony with plastic pattern of the arms and the curves of the body. Foot work is the basic element in this dance. No strings of bells are generally used. Drumists provide the accompaniment. The Kathak performance begins with Ganesh Vandana and Thall is the first dance movement. Formerly the dancers used to recite dance Bholas also but later on this was given up. *Ghat Bhava* one type of Kathak dance is meant to tell a story in an expressive form. The gestures of the Kathak interpret a theme. The Kathak dance was revived in 1930 in south India. Recently Kathak has been adopted to ballet. So an attempt has been made to revive the beauty of this dance with all its glory.

The last important dance of India is *Manipuri dance.* In this dance Kirtan songs with drums are sung. The rhythms of the dance are played in deep tone accents. The dance steps interpret the rhythm. The feet are not lifted and their movements are hardly visible. The knees are kept close and the gestures of the pure [illegible] are adopted. These dances are performed during [illegible]

during other festival days. Manipur dance was discovered by Rabindra Nath Tagore in 1920. The soft cadence and the movement of dance attracted him.

The primary *emblem* of the Indian folk dances is rhythm which is generally got from the beating of the drums. The folk dances of the peasants are generally meant for recreating themselves. There are so many folk dances in Rajasthan, Punjab, Maharashtra, Assam etc. Among the folk dances Gujrati *Ras Garba* is one of the famous dances. Among the dances of Rajasthan the most popular dance is *Ghumar* which is generally performed during the festivals. *Panihari* is another dance of women of Rajasthan. The Bhangra is a popular harvest dance of Punjabi farmers. *Goph dance* is a circular dance of Maharashtra. Another popular dance of Maharashtra is *Deepak*. Even the remote regions like Assam give us fine dances and one of the dance drama called *Satriya* is well-known. Among the folk dances of Assam, *Rangali Vichu* is the dance of happiness. Among the Bengali folk dances dramatic dance *Asuravadha* is well-known. Folk dances of Mysore include *Nandi Kamba* and that of Madras is a fine stick called *Kalattam*. The folk drama of Tamil Nadu is *Terukthu*. The folk dances of Kerala are also well-known. So clearly the cultural heritage of India is definitely contained in the dances which are popular. In order to bring this assemblage of the folk dancers, the Government has been inviting them on the Republic Day and the assembly of these folk dancers as Prime Minister Nehru said brings "richness of our cultural heritage and the unifying bond which holds us together".

Suggested Readings

(1) P. Banerji—*Dance af India.*
(2) Rajini Devi—*Dance Dialect of India.*
(3) Bhavani Enakshi—*Dance in India.*

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FILMS IN INDIA

Mr. Justice Rajamannar, once Chairman of Sangeet Natak Akademi once said that there was no doubt whatsoever the films must be treated as the distinct form of art, the most modern of the fine arts. "It links itself with the other arts like music, dance and drama but it has its separate artistic individuality. With its wide range of depiction and with the universality of its appeal it has tremendous possibilities. It must not be overlooked that the film industry today has become one of the major industries in this country and consequently the box office aspect is likely to overshadow its artistic aspects". A clearly individual film industry is an art as well as an industry and to bring a compromise between the two is a very difficult problem. The producers will have the temptation to conform to the standards of the people because that will give them more of income. Sometimes that may result in the abuse of art though their aim should be to use art for catering to the needs of the people. In fact the mass audience does not have either the mental make up or the intellectual background to appreciate the artistic subtleties. It will not be incorrect to say some of the films fail to capture the market because they have become too artistic. For example, melo-drama has a greater emotional appeal and so most of the producers fall into the trap of melo-drama. They think that the films should not cultivate the tastes of the people rather should accord with their interests and their level of thinking. Still if the producer is a true artist his conscience will pinch in case he tries to degenerate and spoil the beauty of creation. Many artists have been maintaining this standard. It must also be made clear that film is a complex art because it is the product of the labour of a number of artists. It has been called "a symphony of cooperative effort". The actors, the directors, the script writers, the camera men, the music directors, all work together and give fine touches to the different aspects of this complex art. If all of them come together and a proper proportion of each art goes into the making of a film, it will definitely have an abiding value.

With their meagre financial resources our artists have been struggling to build up this industry. Moreover, previously, there were no training centres for the technicians and he could not handle the latest machines properly. But during a very sh[illegible] period India has made tremendous progress in this domain.

has been able to ride abreast of the other countries as far as the colour techniques are concerned. No doubt we have not been able to produce a large number of the colour films, still we have developed the technique and may be, use it on a larger scale with the passage of time. In other countries they have developed 3-Dimensional technique, Cinema Scope, Cine Drama, Vista Vision etc., and to think of all these techniques for India at so early a stage would be too much. Still till we adopt these latest techniques, it may not be possible for us to keep our standard very high. It is foolishness to compare our films with the Hollywood films because the main aim of the producers is to produce such stuff as may be quite novel to the people. There are so many sources of entertainment in America and if the producers do not produce new pictures with new techniques there is a possibility that there may be overlapping of some form of entertainment. The USA has spent lavishly in equipping their theatres and the number of theatres has swelled up to more than 5000. They always try to create taste for something new among the people. Though the Indian film industry is more than 59 years old, still as far as the capital investment is concerned it stands second in the world. India has produced more than 15000 feature films so far. It has nearly 73 studios chiefly situated in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The number of cinemas has considerably risen after 1965. Still there is a great scope for increasing the number of cinemas in India and that would also provide employment to a large number of people. In fact our cinema has not progressed with the increase in population. Economic difficulties as well as the attention has not been paid by the public men and the philosophers to this industry. Somehow or other this has been associated with sex and immorality. Perhaps this is an age-old prejudice which is persisting upto this time.

At this stage it will be appropriate to discuss the controversy which has recently been raised regarding the introduction of kissing and certain other sex exciting scenes in the films. Many of the producers in India believe that if we are to introduce realism in the Indian films it would be necessary to give scenes which may have sexual implications about them. They say that all over the world there is a movement that sex should be taught as a subject even at the school and the college levels because they think that the false notions about sex and the inhibitions put by the conservative people, instead of suppressing sex, excite it. But it is too much to think of it because they will be a

complete negation of our culture. In fact the artistic activities should develop along the channels laid down by our cultural stream and any art which denies or ignores, is bound to add nothing to the tradition and the cultural development. No doubt under the impact of western civilization, kissing etc., have become some common activities at least in the higher class society. But an art must conform to the ideas and thinking of the middle class society because only middle class society is the reservoir of public morality. So it will be an affront to Indian culture and a wrong trened in the development of art if these types of scenes are screened. So some of the producers complain that their artistic talent has not allowed to have its full flowering because they are always tied down by the morality. Another reason for the inhibited growth of the cinema is the confused thinking of its use, its scope and its purpose. We forget that it can be an aid in education and a great help in bringing a social change. The public can be enlightened and proper type of atmosphere can be created for bringing even revolutioary change in the social customs and traditions. They can also help us in understanding the other states and the people of the different states of the world. It can be used as a medium of advertisements which can also be good recreation for the people. If proper type of recreation is provided, people can be kept busy and they would never bother about the mischievous activities. It has been pointed out that the great colloseum in Rome where chariot races, man-lion fights were staged is one of the monuments to the political sagacity of the Roman rulers. So this purpose and scope of the cinemas has been realised that is why it has been burdened with taxes and no proper encouragement is given in any particular department. Even Dr. Radhakrishnan while talking to the Hollywood people said "of all the elements which tend to eliminate misunderstanding none can accomplish more than motion pictures. Industry's grasp of the need for mass entertainment at all levels of intelligence, provide the fastest approach for overcoming illiteracy through visual education." In fact heavy taxes upon entertainment damps the spirits of the producers because the net profit for the producers comes down almost to nothing.

Film Inquiry Committee in one of its reports said "the absence of any policy on the part of the Government in regard to the direction, purpose and regulations of the industry, the multiplicity of the authorities which have a say in its affairs, the confused attitude of the State authorities and the Ministers towards their claims of the industry to exist, all these have been the important factors which have affected

the industry". Some of the regulations are detmitely obtrusive and others cause unavoidable delays and the authorities do not have a proper type of appreciation of their needs and requirements. This state of affairs has definitely made the Indian film industry somewhat crippled one. In this regard the attitude of the censors must be clearly brought out. Once there was a charge against the producers that they bring out only mythological pictures. But later on they started having a large number of the social pictures. Now the scope of these pictures is widening because apart from dealing with the social problems, the pictures also cater to the needs of the children, adolescents and other categories of the people. No doubt the censorship of the films was imposed during the British rule yet it continued even after independence. Some people say that no art can properly develop if a framework is provided for it and it is not allowed to develop on its own lines. Sometimes the censor distorts the film and the real impact of that artistic creation is lost. Censor will have to be a bit liberal and will not be prejudiced by the opinions of the political parties and other sectional interests.

Another handicap which the film industry in India has to face is that film industries in other big countries like America, Britain, France, Italy, Japan do not produce films in more than one language. On the other hand Indian film industry is to cater to the tastes of a large number of the language groups of India. Consequently the appeal of the film becomes somewhat limited. For example, Hindi film may be mostly appreciated in the northern part of India, but perhaps this may not be liked in the South or some other part of India. Secondly, films are produced at the State level by adopting the language of that area. None can doubt that this system has been able to preserve variety but the economic consequences of this system have been bad for this industry. Clearly enough this barrier of the languages is definitely doing a lot of harm to the film industry in India.

It is generally complained that the Indian films try to imitate the techniques of the English films. To some extent it might be correct but it will be wrong to say that we have not been able to produce our own techniques. In fact, there is no harm in borrowing the techniques of the more developed countries than in stagnating with the old techniques. The film Industry in India has a very salutary development, i.e. at this time it is not dependent upon a few well tried actors or actresses. During the recent years, there has been a spate of good actors,

who have given a great support to our developing industry. As far as music is concerned, apart from carrying our classical traditions, we are not reluctant to borrow the western music and exploit it to the maximum extent. Even the Government is taking steps towards the development of this industry because they have set up the Film Finance Corporation. The result of this all out effort is that in the recent times some quite good films have been screened.

"INDIA MUST BREAK WITH MUCH OF HER PAST AND SHOULD NOT ALLOW IT TO DOMINATE THE PRESENT"
(Nehru)

Past is something unique and every nation is proud of it. Past is a guidance for the future. It is the foundation upon which the structure of the society is built and if it is ignored, then beyond doubt, it will collapse. It is a link that connects the present world with the early developments. The independent nations which were slave, once again became independent because of the inspiration which the past gave. The frustration, disappointments, jerks and jolts which one might have experienced in the past provide him with better and secure ground to stand upon. That is why history is known as a book of lessons for a statesman. No doubt it is said that the lure of the past has always been a stumbling block in the progress of an individual or nation, but this cannot be ignored.

If the past of India is viewed from this point of view there is much which is of greater use to us in the present age. As a matter of fact, India has rich inheritage ; our culture is one of the three greatest out of which two, namely Greek and Egyptian have vanished. The cause of its stay doubtlessly lies in its superiority over them. India has contributed to the Philosophy, Science, Art, Literature and culture of the world. The philosophy of Upanishads is regarded as the highest pinmark in the World. The discoveries and inventions of science which are regarded extra-ordinary were known to us ;hte battle of Mahabharta was fought with sophisticated weapons. Politi-

cally, economically and socially India was on the top in the world. Democracy existed long ago in India. In society the status enjoyed by a woman was very high.

No doubt the dust and dirt of the ages has bedimmed the glory of the halo which dazzled the eyes of the foreigners. The foreign invasions gave severe blow to the past and the layer of the dust were doubled. The English tried to replace our culture with their own. They distorted our history so as to make us ignorant of our real past. The customs and traditions, which were once used as correctives, with the lapse of time, corrupted the Indian society. But it does not mean that we should neglect our past. Certain concepts of the past are still vague but have vital importance in the society. We cannot afford to remove the impressions of the past from our minds simply because it has been absorbed by thought-currents. If a deeper study of our past is made objectively it will be clear that it is not a hindrance in the future progress.

Indian Religion of the past was Nature-Worship. And the traditions and rituals concerning it were all scientifically made. Yogic exercises, observing fasts once in a week, calm sitting for half an hour a day, are scientifically good for health. They adopted hygienic rules in line with religious rituals; washing hand with sand, worshipping the rising sun are useful in many ways. So is the case with the customs and conventions which were practised. The caste system was of rare type based on professional categorisation. Thus maximum co-ordination was brought in society. It degenerated and resulted in rigidness; though it had solved the problem of unempolyment.

In Art and literature India's past has special importance. It produced the rare type of art. We cannot afford to ignore the Ajanta Cave, the temple of Somnath and the forts of Rajasthan. Those are pieces of rare art. The Sanskrit literature is the richest in the world. We cannot bury the Vedas. The philosophy of the Upanishad which inspired even the West cannot be condemned. The works of Chanakya constitute master pieces in their own spheres. The poetry of Kalidas is of the highest quality. These are the foundations of our culture and if we break with it we shall be victim of foolishness. The past gives a vivid picture of our artistry, it increases our knowledge, it teaches us the morals which we should practise for preserving our culture. The moral force, the lesson which we take from our past, has relevance still.

The faith in God is also one of the principal teachings of the religions. As a matter of fact, faith in God gives confidence, hopefulness and optimism. Today, it is because of the lack of the belief in God that life has lost its meaning, significance and purpose.

The political theories of India scholars were great and political set-up was democratic. Our history tells that we dethroned the kings who did not work properly. The King had to consult the ministers as a President today is bound to consult P.M. The Panchayat system is deep rooted in our social set-up. The introduction of Panchayat Raj is the direct outcome of the past. If such glories are of the past then can we afford to neglect it totally ?

In the scientific age we say that we must neglect our past if we want to rise. Besides the automatic weapons there was sound control, in place of nuclear weapons there were weapons which after attacking the enemy would come back. Thus we cannot say that past does not allow us to progress while in the past there was so much of development. It is definite that doctrines of the past have healthy influence on us and, foolishly, we should not kick them off. The moral and social customs of the past should be observed.

If we depend entirely on the past it is also a folly. If we dream of the past and do nothing for future we will live in fool's paradise. The past should assist us in future. It should not dominate the future. The future should not be measured with the past but the past should provide something new for the future. Past should not be the master but the servant. It should not dictate rather it should suggest. Past has passed and in this sense, that should not be allowed to interfere with the existing affairs. The things of the past may not suit today. What was immoral in the past may be moral today. With the scientific inventions civilisation jumped from abstract to concrete. It is the age of mind not of heart and for this we will have to develop the scientific attitude. The dome of superstition of the past is to be shattered and shall have to make our own way for future, the old paths of the past are dusty and of no use. That is why Mr. Nehru said, "we must break with much of our past and should not allow it to dominate the present".

If we think rationally, then we shall come to the co[illegible] because of the past we suffered again and again. Religion

an obstacle in our way. It divided the society into castes and as a result of it hatred among castes developed. The links were broken and the state of affairs became worse. Untouchability came in the way of social progress. Too much belief in God made Indians idle. When an invader came they resigned to the will of God.

Religion perhaps did the greatest harm. The fragmentation of the society was because of religion. It taught fanaticism. Religious battles were fought. Who does not know what happened in 1947—that was all due to religions. The loyalties to religions distinguish man from man. It is the far reaching influence of religion that threatened the national integrity of India. If we want to develop and to be on the zenith as we were in the past we will relegate religion to the background. We should not afford to allow the religious principles to play vital role in the society. Religion should be individual's concern, a private affair, having nothing to do with the national problems.

Along with religion there are peculiar rituals and ceremonies which should be abandoned. The sacrifices should be ended. Religion should not be regarded above law and man. Man is not to be judged by the religion he follows but by the qualities he possesses. The religion should not be allowed to dominate. If the impact of religion is removed many of the difficulties will be solved and future development will be easier.

In social field, though untouchability has been legally abolished yet it persists in one or the other form. This horrible practice is still going on and its cause dates back to caste system. We think of the past and follow the ancestors. If they committed mistake it does not mean that we too should commit. We should realise their importance and due respect should be paid to them. The practice of dowry is a legacy of the past and still exists. Under the circumstances do you think that a father of a daughter can live happily. Society is dynamic even if we remain static.

So is the case with the prevailing superstitions. While going on the most important job if a cat crosses our way we cancel our programme. This is one example, but the fact is that every activity of ours is guided by superstition and all of the superstitions are useless having no meaning. You are expected not to go out of station on particular days in particular directions. After all what is the cause of

this. These are the stones on the path of development and act as obstacles. We must remove them. Indian brain is confined and for its freedom and liberal thinking, which is beneficial, the ideology of the past should have no place in the modern age.

With the change or times, the concepts have changed. India has never been as it is today. The moral scruples of the past should not be applied today. Attitude must be changed. To insist upon the old dogmas is to check the progress. In the scientific age we cannot make God responsible for our actions. You cannot live at the mercy of God. If you want to live—you will have to work. The scientific discoveries have shown that ; which was mysterious in the past, is known to the human beings. When world is going to probe mars and we think moon to be a god you can well imagine, how deplorable is our condition. Sustained efforts are to be made to develop scientific attitude. For all that man made, God cannot be held responsible. So the doctrines of the past if allowed to dominate today shall take us to retrogress.

From the perusal of both aspects we come to the conclusion that we must break with much of the past but the rest should be retained. We may deny a place to the past on the ground that it will distort our present and the activities of the past are regarded as taboos. It is totally mistaken that we stand on the shoulders of the past but it also is wrong that we have nothing to do with the past. We are sure to make some headway if we simply sift out the useless from the useful. But in doing so one shall dispense with a good number of obstacles. The conservative mentality and habit will resist the change. Conservatism does not allow any sort of advance in any field. Besides this, as pointed out religious outlook of the people will hamper us. Our emotional sympathy lies with the past and we being proud of our past don't want to ignore it. But the past that becomes an obstacles is to be removed if we want to progress. India will not remain India if she completely breaks with her past. But it is also true that if India allowed the past to dominate it will not have the glory of the past today. New values of life have been adopted ; western culture has made a deep dent in our traditional way of life, science has overhauled our thinking so past with its values has lost its relevance. Our appreciation of Beauty, our cult of morality, our devotion to community life, our spirit of accomo-

dation and our spirituality are important even today. But much of our past will insulate us from the currents of modern life. Past is to be modified by the present but the present is to borrow much from the past.

INDIAN SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Society is a human institution and for orienting it either for political set up or for any great change it is necessary to tackle the social problems of the country first. In fact, the nation should be prepared mentally, intellectually and also in terms of customs and traditions to adopt new sensibility or new set up. In India the colonial powers did not pay much attention to the social problems of the the country rather they only bothered about introducing English culture in India and changing the thinking of the people according to their own needs. Their attitude towards the problems of India was that of a spectator who would look at them sometimes with indulgence and sometimes with indifference. In fact the social problems of India relate to the various factors and even in ancient India social work was done. Serving the needy and helping one's fellow men have been virtues greatly valued in the Indian culture and all Indian religions have emphasised charity. So there were various institutions which used to help the suffering humanity. Even Kautilya's *Artha Sastra* refers to the constructive work for the public good by the joint efforts of the villagers. It also refers to the social work like care and provision for boys, old or diseased in case they have no sympathetic guardian or protectors. The learned teachers used to give food to the poor lads and used to teach them free. Even the Muslims in India were inspired with the same spirit of social work. Social work was conducted during the British period also. Unfortunately it was not directed towards the social problems ; the work undertaken by them was more in the form of charity than in the form of social reforms because no effort was made to uproot the the social evils. So the earliest social reform movement perhaps

started in 1780 when the Serampore Mission was established in Bengal. Many religious and social reforms were necessary in the Hindu social structure especially with regard to child marriage, polygamy, female infanticide, sati and forbidding widow marriage. The impact of Christian and Western education produced new kind of harmony so new sense of values was introduced. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first Indian to set in motion the forces which led to the correction of many of the social evils. Through his journal he analysed the facts of British economic policy regarding the Indian rural economy. He pleaded for the abolition of caste distinction and the practice of sati. The religious and the social reforms that he initiated set the pattern for similar activities in other parts of the country. At the end of the 18th century the social reform movements spread, throughout the country and there was emphasis on the extension of education among the girls. After 1900 many social reforms were envisaged and even legislations were passed. But the impact of Gandhiji in this domain is definitely the greatest. As a result of it a large number of social legislations like Children Acts, Hindu Inheritance Act etc., were passed. Even after independence social reforms are needed because it is not possible to adjust the political set up with the thinking of the people if the social conditions are not changed and social functions are not developed.

First of all it is necessary that some social problems concerning the village community should be taken up. Among the villagers since old conservatism persists and religion is still one of the most important factors that influences their outlook and thinking. In the villages the health of the children is completely neglected, because there is mal-nutrition. This might be the case with the urban population also but it is more so in the case of villagers. It has been pointed out that the mortality rates among the children of age group 1 to 5 are exceedingly high. It is nearly 40% as compared with 6% in other developed countries. Of the various types of nutritional deficiencies, protein caloric malnutrition, anaemia are some of the deficiencies among the children. As a result of it there is a retardation of mental growth and the mal-functioning of the organs like liver and pancreas. This is one of the greatest problems particulary in the villages of India because they are not provided with proper type of medical facilities. As recommended by the Child Programme Committee there should be a sub-centre

for every 5000 of the population and proper care should be take: to provide mid-day meals during the school hours and educatin the parents with regard to nutrition. The second social proble of the village community is education. No doubt there is an increas consciousness among the urban people with regard to educati but the villagers are still lost in the old conservative system of r educating their children. No doubt schools have been set up in t villages but proper type of encouragement and attention is provided to the children of the villagers. Similarly the recreatio *facilities are not available in the villages. It is not possible fo* man to work throughout the day without having any recreat The only recreation in the villages is taking of wine and celeber festivals. Till recreational centres are set up in villages it i possible to develop their personality in a proper manner. Sim for handicapped children perhaps there are institutions in the vil All of them are located in the cities. The women welfare o villages is also completely neglected. Woman is the cradle of c zation and also the motivation behind progress because the ch get their first lesson in education from the mother. In v *particularly their education, their health and their economic o* pation had completely 'been neglected. No doubt some Ac been passed particularly with regard to property, marriage, et among the villagers. Same old relationships between the wom the men exist. Parents do not consider them equal to their s the husbands take them to be slaves. Till she is given a equal s cannot serve the nation properly. In the villages we will take care of their living conditions. At this time living for Just a punishment that they have to undergo because they to pass their time in one or the other way. This should no *attitude of the citizens of a democratic country.*

If we take up an overall view of the social problems without segregating the *villagers from* the urban people that we will have to go a long way for improving the of life. One of the most important problems is concerni No doubt after independence the Central Government cre welfare for its own undertaking, but very effective sch not been implemented so far. Similarly some of the larg ments have taken certain welfare activities on volur but a vast *majority of the industrialists as reported by* Investment Committee regard welfare work as a burden

Some of the Acts like Factories Act 1948 and the Employees State Insurance Act, the Plantation Labour Act, Mines Act and the Iron Ore Mines Labour Welfare Act etc., for the improvement of the labour welfare were passed. The trade unions have played an important role in providing welfare facilities to their members but it has been reported that except for a few workers' associations (those being the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association, the Mill Mazdoor Union, Indore) they have not taken much interest in the welfare work. Shri K.N. Raj remarked "a survey of the presence or absence of welfare services for industrial workers resembles a landscape in which remote regions and turns appear together with a network of good roads". The specific activities which need the attention of the welfare of labourers include recreational activities, educational facilities, medical facilities etc. The labour welfare officers appointed under statutory obligation were to protect workers welfare, but a survey conducted in 1962 did not give an encouraging report of the performance of these officers. The other labour problems which have social significance are industrial relations, wage and social security, working conditions, employment and training and lastly productivity. In order to establish industrial democracy in India a scheme of Joint Management Councils was introduced in 1958. Administration of welfare measures and sharing of information on specified items are the basic ingredients for effective functioning of the Joint Management Councils. Despite many difficulties the scheme needs proper encouragement these had developed good relations between the employer and the employee. As far as wages and social security are concerned, there is a Minimum Wage Act, 1948 for fixing and regulating the conditions of work of the workers employed in the unorganised and sweated industries. Recently a new wage policy is going to be evolved in order to give better security to the workers; Insurance, old age pension etc. are considered to be measures as far as social security is concerned. In one of the essays, J.B. Haldane pointed out that in India the working conditions of the labourers is one of the greatest health hazards. Infact in many industries the working conditions will have to be improved.

Social problems with regard to the welfare of the backward classes is also to be taken into consideration. The programme for their welfare has been undertaken under four categories: (1) Scheduled tribes; (2) Scheduled castes; (3) Ex-criminal tribes; and (4) Backward classes. The data collected in some States by the Ministry

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If we take up an overall view of the social problems of India without segregating the villagers from the urban people we may say that we will have to go a long way for improving the conditions of life. One of the most important problems is concerning labour. No doubt after independence the Central Government created labour welfare for its own undertaking, but very effective schemes have not been implemented so far. Similarly some of the larger establishments have taken certain welfare activities on voluntary basis, but a vast majority of the inustrialists as reported by the Labour Investment Committee regard welfare work as a barren liability.

Some of the Acts like Factories Act 1948 and the Employees State Insurance Act, the Plantation Labour Act, Mines Act and the Iron Ore Mines Labour Welfare Act etc., for the improvement of the labour welfare were passed. The trade unions have played an important role in providing welfare facilities to their members but it has been reported that except for a few workers' associations (those being the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association, the Mill Mazdoor Union, Indore) they have not taken much interest in the welfare work. Shri K. N. Raj remarked "a survey of the presence or absence of welfare services for industrial workers resembles a landscape in which remote regions and turns appear together with a network of good roads". The specific activities which need the attention of the welfare of labourers include recreational activities, educational facilities, medical facilities etc. The labour welfare officers appointed under statutory obligation were to protect workers welfare, but a survey conducted in 1962 did not give an encouraging report of the performance of these officers. The other labour problems which have social significance are industrial relations, wage and social security, working conditions, employment and training and lastly productivity. In order to establish industrial democracy in India a scheme of Joint Management Councils was introduced in 1958. Administration of welfare measures and sharing of information on specified items are the basic ingredients for effective functioning of the Joint Management Councils. Despite many difficulties the scheme needs proper encouragement these had developed good relations between the employer and the employee. As far as wages and social security are concerned, there is a Minimum Wage Act, 1948 for fixing and regulating the conditions of work of the workers employed in the unorganised and sweated industries. Recently a new wage policy is going to be evolved in order to give better security to the workers ; Insurance, old age pension etc. are considered to be measures as far as social security is concerned. In one of the essays, J.B. Haldane pointed out that in India the working conditions of the labourers is one of the greatest health hazards. Infact in many industries the working conditions will have to be improved.

Social problems with regard to the welfare of the backward classes is also to be taken into consideration. The programme for their welfare has been undertaken under four categories : (1) Scheduled tribes ; (2) Scheduled castes ; (3) Ex-criminal tribes ; and (4) Backward classes. The data collected in some States by the Ministry

of Education shows that during the first plan period the percentage involvement, in welfere work, of the scheduled tribe has improved in these States. However, the instance of stagnation and wastage has been high. The development strategy for the tribal welfare has to take into consideration the level of attainment among the humanities in the different parts of the country. The progress for the welfare of the scheduled castes include various measures such as removal of untouchability, provision of education, employment opportunities and the distribution of surplus land etc. The Provisions of the Untouchability Offences Act 1955 needs still more rigorous enforcement. Moreover, the Estimates Committee of Parliament recommended in 1959 that the practice of carrying soil as headloads be eliminated and other measures taken to improve the lot of scavangers. An outlay of 3 crores was provided for the improvement of the living and working conditions of such persons during the Fourth plan. Similarly, the welfare of the backward classes should be taken seriously. Nomadic or semi-nomadic groups should be properly rehabilitated and attention should be paid to the problems of the individual groups.

Housing is another important social problem of India. There are various schemes for housing in urban areas, for example housing for the industrial workers, housing for the low income groups, housing for private enterprises and slum clearance schemes. Infact if people do not get proper conditions for living it is not possible to adjust themselves according to the conditions required for democratic set up. According to the report on housing problem released in 1974, there is a great shortage of houses both in the urban and rural areas. Infact housing has not been accorded adequate priority in national planning. During the Fourth Plan period the expenditure on housing is expected to be Rs. 124·50 crores and the Government has abandoned the schemes of giving loans for building houses to the Central Government employees. Still housing is one of the most important social problems of the country because till there is proper planning of the housing colonies even those may become some type of health hazards.

Social security and insurance [illegible] nother facing the country. No doubt there [illegible] social schemes which are in vogue at prese[illegible] soc should be provided. The sch[illegible] incl[illegible] C

tion Act, the Monetary Benefits Act, the Employees State Insurance scheme, the Coal Mines and Bonus Scheme, Unemploment Insurance Scheme. Still in India no provision has been made for old age pension and also for other types of security. Under this falls the assistance for the physically and socially handicapped people. No doubt there are some institutions which provide education to the handicapped and the blind yet there is a [illegible] Infact after independence very little [illegible] made to collect the statistics and that [illegible] has been paid to this problem. Infact vacational rehabilitation of the handicapped adults should be made and adequate assistance should be given to those in the family who cannot do any work. Similarly the victims of leprosy should be encouraged to live with their relatives with a subsidy of the Government if necessary. Leprosy has always been considered a highly infectious disease though it is contrary to the facts. Much attention should be paid to the socially handicapped who include the old, the infirm, widows and children. More states have introduced pension for the old and invalid persons, but the attention is very small and they cannot meet their expenses with that. Mentally handicapped people should also be given proper attention. The Ministry of Health appointed four sub-committees for this purpose and forty institutions for mentally retarded children were started in 1965. There should be rehabilitation of the mentally retarded and physically handicapped. Infact young people have also become a menace to the society. So some of the socialists say that it is also a significant social problem. They say that the youth are easily exploited by the politicians and so create a number of problems for the country. That is why the Government has envisaged some youth welfare schemes. The objective of these schemes is to make them to work in the service of the humanity and the nations and also to develop their own personality for their personal and social benefits. With this very purpose the National Survey Scheme, NCC, etc., were started. In the recent announcement of the educational policy the Education Ministry has decided to create some social services in which the young people from universities can participate.

The social problems of India are multifarious because we have just come out of the slavery. All departments of social life were allowed to stagnate or were allowed to be reformed by the people themselves. It was only after independence that the govern-

ment had to take up these problems of social reform and some significant advances were made though still we need much more. For developing social consciousness there should be a sort of social mobility and that was absent because of the caste system in India. Moreover, the rulers try to freeze the social currents because that suits their interests and so it became very difficult for us to make any progress socially. After independence we will be jeopardising the interests of democracy if we do not pay proper attention to the social welfare of the people. No doubt voluntary organisations will help us a lot still the government will have to take initiative.



AGRICULTURAL TAXATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.

Recently Prime Minister Indira Gandhi while laying the corner-stone of the Institute for Social and Economic Change said that the central measures had one shortcoming that they did not touch the agricultural sector. She also wanted the states to cooperate by reviving land revenue levying a surcharge on larger holdings and fixing commercial rates for irrigation water. She further said that rising prices pose a big problem and that is why the agricultural progress has not maintained the desired pace and affluent farmers have been holding on to stocks thereby upsetting distribution plans. Similarly in Punjab the Raj Committee had suggested the enhancement of agriculture taxes. The Punjab Government rejected the suggestion of the committee to impose land holdings taxes but it instead decided to simplify the existing land revenue and surcharge and special charge thereon by merging these levies into a single but progressive land revenue. Simultaneously the cess on commercial crops would be revived. Infact the idea of agricultural taxation emerged because of the great role played by it in Russia, Japan, China and elsewhere. developing economy like India agriculture constitutes an impor-

tant sector of the economy. So the planners think that it should bear the substantial portion of the cost of economic development. During the process of development agriculture has supplied the rest of the economy with raw materials, food products etc. According to Professor Kaldor it is only compulsory levies in the agricultural sector that will enlarge the supply of savings for economic development. Agricultural taxation will also help in mobilising the domestic resources.

At present agricultural taxation includes taxes which are paid by the agriculturists directly and also the taxes like land revenue cesses surcharge and agricultural income tax etc. These taxes and surcharges. contribute more than Rupees 136 crores to the country every year. Among these taxes land revenue is the oldest and it came to near about Rupees 113 crores in 1970-71. Another tax is the agricultural income tax. This has been imposed in many states like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, etc. There are so many intricate taxes which the agriculturists have to bear. One of the most important types of these taxes is stamps and registration for the transfer of land. Similarly some electricity duties and taxes upon entertainment are also borne by the agriculturists to a great extent. In India the total taxation incidence on agriculture is to the tune of Rupees 907 crores as Mr. Ved Gandhi has pointed out in his book "Tax Burden on Indian Agriculture". Clearly the average tax on the agricultural land during the same period comes to Rupees 26 per capita. These figures can easily show that agricultural sector bears less tax burden than the non-agricultural sector and there is a great scope for increase in agricultural taxation.

Direct and indirect taxes have been continually rising in our country particularly in the urban sector. It seems that urban population will not be able to bear the burden of more taxes and the very purpose of taxation may be defeated. As public investments have been made in agricultural development since the implementation of the five year plans so the profitability of commercial crops like sugarcane and tobacco has appreciated. The I.D.A.P. is helping agriculture to move out of the subsistence to commercial farming. So the pattern of agricultural taxation will have to be changed. Since 1951 direct taxes on agriculture have not been enhanced and so the contribution of agriculture in the economic welfare of the country has been

nificant. It will not be incorrect if we say that agricultural sector is under-taxed as compared with the non-agricultural sector. Agriculture at this time can definitely contribute more to the economic development of the country.

There has been a great opposition to the idea imposing more taxes on agriculture. They say that it will be unwise to tax agriculture because that will affect farming and farmers directly. Moreover, they hold that commercialisation of agriculture is not complete and scientific farming has not left its full impact upon agriculture. So it will be too early to increase taxation on agriculture. They further argue that the untaxed income of the farmers is invested in the accumulation of farm capital. So this is a good investment at least for our country. Lastly excise taxation covers a large number of manufactures goods and so the rural people have to pay that type of tax also.

It was in 1972 that Committee of taxation of agricultural wealth and income under the Chairmanship of Dr. K.N. Raj made some sugesstions regarding the additional taxation of agriculture. The Raj Committee pointed out that direct taxes on agriculture levied by the states account for only 1% of the net domestic agriculture. The principal of progression has not governed direct taxation on agriculture. Moreover the ceiling on land holdings have greatly reduced the scope of progressive taxation in agriculture. The technological advances will increase productivity and so there is a scope for full taxation. They also pointed out that with a ceiling on land holdings the affluent farmers may invest their money in non-agricultural domains. So the Committee recommended the progressive Agricultural Holding Tax on agriculturists and in the case of tax payers income from agriculture should be included in their total income for the purpose of calculating income tax. Similarly income from livestock, fisheries, poultry, dairy farms should be subject to tax. Similarly the capital gains tax on the transfer of agricultural land should be imposed. Clearly the most important recommendation of the committee was agricultural holding tax. The Committee discovered some [illegible] in relation [illegible] of [illegible] mittee recommended the imposition of this tax in a phased programme. The Committee hoped that between Rs. 150 crores to Rupees 200 crores would be additional income from this type of tax.

The Raj Committee's proposals have been branded as too radical by the economists. They also think that these cannot be implemented because these are quite cumbersome. The Indian Government has accepted the Raj Committee's recommendations regarding partial integration of agricultural incomes with non-agricultural incomes and incorporated it in the budget of 1973-74. The perspective planning division has proposed some surcharge on land revenue and the Planning Commission has recommended the imposition of agricultural income tax. This has also been accepted by the Government recently. Earlier it was rejected by the Chief Ministers of the states because agricultural income tax is a state subject. Some economists justified the progressive agricultural income tax. Moreover agricultural income tax is levied in all states and is highly progressive. Still this progressive agricultural income tax has many administrative difficulties in imposing it. In agriculture it will be difficult to calculate the income from the sale proceeds. Moreover there are fluctuations in output and prices of the various groups. The cost of collecting agricultural income tax may be very high because it is quite cumbersome.

Clearly agriculture will have to become the target of heavier taxation in order to contain inflation. People have been investing money in increasing their land holdings because the agricultural income was not included in taxable income. Otherwise also if we do not tax the agriculturists we will be creating a disparity between the urban and rural population it is incorrect to say that only the industries and other urban economic organisations are responsible for inflation. Inflation is the result of overall increase in money circulation may be even in the case of rural people. Otherwise also agricultural taxation will definitely discourage the big landlords to spend money lavishly and thereby increase the circulation of money. Otherwise also India is primarily an agricultural country and this is one of the most important sources of collecting taxes. So enhancement in the agricultural tax is justified. It is only because of the political reasons that the Government has been shunning Otherwise the economic needs of the country demand this type of taxation definitely.

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INDIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

India's foreign policy with regard to her neighbours as well as other nations is based upon certain ideologies which date back to even the earliest sessions of the Congress. In a letter addressed to the President of the Peace Conference of 1919 Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak for the first time declared "India is self contained, harbours no designs upon the integrity of other states and has no ambitions outside". It was in 1938 at Haripura Session that a proper enunciation of the foreign policy was made. The resolution pointed out "the people of India desire to live in peace and friendship with its neighbours and with all the other countries and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of confilict between them............in order to establish world peace on an enduring basis; imperialism and the exploitation of one people by an other people must end". In the same spirit Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru said in 1946 "we hope to develop close and direct contact with other nations and to cooperate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom". Despite these pronouncements no country can afford to neglect its own interests. India had to adopt, under the circumstances the best policy, the policy of non-alignment. Mr. Nehru once declared "if we did *align ourselves we would only fall between two stools". Another pillar* of the foreign policy is that we have been opposing imperialism and colonialism. It was felt that we have been the victims of colonialism and imperial domination. So we must devote ourselves of course inevitably to the freedom of every other colonial country. At that time most of the neighbouring countries of ours were under the colonial rule and India has been championing their cause directly or indirectly. In our foreign policy we showed our faith in the United Nations *in* cooperation and coexistence with a bias in favour of Asia. With this background in mind we can easily understand our relations with the neighbouring countries more objectively.

If we take into account the reaction of different neighbours towards *our unclear explosion* I think we can have a fairly good idea of the attitude of neighbours towards India. The reaction of the Sub-Continental nations of the South Asia to our nuclear test of May 18th has been from total denunciation to a total acceptance of development. Prime Minister Bhutto has perceived it as "nuclear blackmail and threat to Pakistan's national security". The Government of Bangladesh though *officially* silent on the subject sought India's cooperation in setting up a nuclear reactor and in this manner implicitly endorsed India's dedication to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. On

the other hand Nepal has tended to be discreet as a signatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as well as of the Test Ban Treaty. It reaffirmed soon after the explosion that it is opposed to all types of nuclear tests. But they accepted Mrs. Gandhi's assurance that India has been harnessing the atom for peaceful purposes, and the test is just a technological experiment to help economic developments. Sri Lanka soon after the explosion adopted a non-committal attitude. It held that in the world of real polik a nuclear status "bestows on a nation certain prestige and invites respect from friends, neutrals and adversaries alike," Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister Lakshnaman Jiyakodi declared that Sri Lanka accepted Mrs. Gandhi's assurance that the test was for advancement of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. The Chinese attitude towards the test is quite interesting to study. Chinese have been keeping mum for a very long time and no official comment was immediately available. From their silence it seemed that they are accepting the realities though they do not want to denounce it openly. Infact the smaller states of the Sub-Continent like the Sri Lanka may find solace in the fact that the power equilibrium in the region which was rudely shaken in 1962 has been more or less restored and they will be able to play effectively the game of conventional non-aligned diplomacy between the two powers – India and China. So was the case with Afghanistan though because of the common enmity with Pakistan, Afghanistan has come a bit closer to India as far as her foreign policies are concerned. The sharpest reaction was from Pakistan and she has all the time been using this nuclear explosion of India for blackmailing the bigger nations. Clearly one can get a very correct appraisal of India's relations with the neighbouring countries by and this single incident on the Indian Sub-Continent.

One of the most important neighbours of India is China and till the outbreak of armed hostilities in 1962 relations between the two countries had been very cordial. When China was the victim of Japanese aggression, India sympathised with her and India was one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with the Nationalist Government of China and India even recognised the new Government of Communists in 1949. *She has all the time been trying to see that* China is admitted to the United Nations. The doubts about Chinese intention were brought to the fore when Chinese Army entered Tibet. Still India accepted the sovereignty of China over Tibet and they concluded the famous agreement of Panch Sheel which emphasized mutual respect for each other territorial integrity, non-agression and non-intervention etc. The uprising in Tibet in 1959 embittered relations between

China and India and China occupied Longju and 12000 square miles of Ladakh. As a consequence there was 1962 Indo-China war. The hostilities between India and China led to the close relationship between China and Pakistan and many agreements to this effect were made. Then during Indo-Pak conflicts of 1965 and 1971 China openly helped Pakistan against India. She served ultimatums and tried to give every possible military assistance. It is feared that China might have intervened in 1971 war had the attitude of the USSR been not very stiff. Infact the relations between India and China were at the lowest ebb in 1967 when two secretaries of Indian Embassy at Peking were subjected to mob violence and one of them was declared a spy and the Government of India retaliated by expelling a Chinese diplomat. It seems that China considers India as a potential rival in Asia. She is all the time trying to negative the influence of India upon Asian countries. After the nuclear explosion perhaps China may start feeling that India will be able to have a larger sphere of influence. India's close relations with USSR, made China some what reluctant to extend a hand of friendship. There was a time when China had been training Nagas and Mizos for disrupting India's political stability. It is in April, 1976 that India has sent an ambassador to China. This the first concrete step, after 1962, towards normalisation of relations.

Another important neighbour of India is Pakistan. The relations between India and Pakistan have never been cordial because partition of India itself was based on communal hatred. Pakistan's acceptance of military alliance, Sino-Pak agreement and transfer of Pakistan occupied Indian territory to China the canal water dispute and Kashmir issue have been contributing towards the bad relation between India had Pakistan. India has been non-aligned but Pakistan has all the time been aligned with the USA. Partly as a reaction against Pakistan's policy of armament and partly because of the bad intentions of Pakistan that India had to adopt hostile attitude towards Pakistan. The canal water dispute between the two countries was over the use of Indus water and it was on humanitarian grounds that India had allowed Pakistan to use waters from Sutlej, Ravi and Beas. When India built Bhakra Nangal Dam Pakistan objected but later on India entered into an agreement through the World Bank and conceded the waters of Indus, Jhelum and Chenab to Pakistan. But Kashmir dispute became one of the most important factors in embittering the relations between the two countries. In order to grab Kashmir, Pakistani trained military personnel entered into Kashmir and occupied a big area of Kashmir. On the request of Maharaja Hari Singh, the Indian troops

went into action and later on a ceasefire was ordered. After that so many times Pakistan has made attempts to grab Kashmir but those have been foiled. Under Tashkent Declaration in 1966 the two countries agreed to settle their disputes through peaceful negotiations and the relations between the two countries showed a sign of improvement. But there was hijacking of Indian Airlines Plane to Lahore and its ultimate destruction. India retaliated by withdrawing permission for Pakistani planes to overfly India. Pakistan was suppressing the Bengalis so they started crossing over to India. Ultimately Pakistan mounted an attack on India, but even this attack was foiled. Bangla Desh was created. At the end of the war Summit meeting was arranged at Simla. There the Simla agreement was signed. According to this agreement the two countries agreed to settle their differences peacefully through bilateral negotiations They expressed their faith in the principles of co-existence, no intervention etc. After the Simla summit and the release of the prisoners of war it was believed that the relations between the two countries would improve. Unfortunately Pakistan's attitude has not been conducive to better relations. Pakistan, as has been pointed out, started accusing India of blackmailing Pakistan through nuclear explosion. Infact it seems that Pakistan's policy has always been to divert the attention of her people whenever there is a serious trouble in Pakistan because of their internal problems. At this time in Pakistan there is the conflict between the two Muslim communities and for Prime Minister Bhutto the easiest way is to accuse India of planning to attack Pakistan. So there is no possibility of improving relations with Pakistan because they thrive on anti-India propaganda. Even in world politics their main game has been to oppose India and get maximum concessions and help from other countries.

The relations with Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal have been somewhat normal. As far as Sri Lanka is concerned there has been a proper understanding between the two countries. There was a little bitterness when Sri Lanka wanted to turn out most of the Indians from that country. But that was more of a misunderstanding than anything which can be called the deterioration of the relations between the two countries. Moreover the recent strategy of the big powers to have their navies in the Indian Ocean has brought Sri Lanka closer to India as far as their foreign policies are concerned. Nepal has been under the influence of China who has been trying hard to woo Nepal. China has been helping Nepal with setting up some industries only because this type of action will help China to blackmail India in one

or the other way. *So under the influence of China Nepal has been* imposing certain restrictions of trade and has been accusing India but on the whole the relations between the two countries have never been spoiled. India has been helping Nepal *financially to* become economically a stable country. Apart from this now there is a better understanding between Nepal and India. Afghanistan has always been closer to India than Pakistan but Pakistan's policy of putting the Afghans to a lot of trouble has led Afghanistan to come in the Indian fold. There is mutual understanding between the two countries. Sikkim is the protectorate of India and so naturally we cannot consider it as an independent country.

At the present times all the bigger nations are out to have their sphere *of influence. So in international politics the two big powers* try to enlist the support of smaller nations in order to blackmail any nation which is going to become an important nation in that area. Bigger nations particularly the USA is conscious of the fact that if India is allowed to grow into a big power, and India has the inherent potential to become a big power, their policy in Asia would receive a serious setback and the area of their influence might decrease. So they make an all out effort to cut India's development to the smallest size. They have been using Pakistan of course a neighbouring country to weaken India in one or the other way. Conditions in Pakistan have never been stable and economically they have not been developed much towards self-sufficiency. So their game is to play in the hands of bigger powers in order to get maximum aid from them. It is not *the policy of India to have bitter relations with* neighbours.

One of the examples of this is support which India has given to the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh. It was seriously objected to and condemned by the Western bloc and India was justified in saying that we could not sleep over the untoward happenings in our neighbouring country. Before actively indulging in war India has been trying to *influence the world opinion which the USA and her allies always* tried to nullify. India was having good relations with Bangla Desh. After the killing of Mujib she has started anti-India propaganda. Bangla Desh has recently indulged in unprovoked firing on India patrols. So our relations with Bangla Desh are still amorphous. But India wants to live in peace with her neighbours.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN INDIA

Education is the backbone of a democratic set up. If the people are not politically educated they can neither fight fo their rights nor can they perform their duties which are imperatives for the working of democracy in any country. Even social change cannot be brought till the education is oriented for the change that we want to bring. Our education was devised as a mechanism for perpetuating colonial rule. In order to suit the new conditions and to make it a vehicle for bringing a change in the thinking of the people it is necessary that there should be some educational reforms in India. Educational reforms should always be according to the cultural perspective of that country. As the social bases of civilisation in ancient India were joint family village community and the caste system so our education was to be somewhat different. Education as a forward looking activity particularly when changes take place decorously does not perform any important functions except adjusting the child to stable environments. But in periods of crisis and social and political changes when the older forms of culture have lost their grip over education it has a critical role to play. With the dawn of the 19th Century we stepped into modern period in India and this brought many changes in our traditional make up of the society. So education should completely be overhauled. Infact education as a part of culture has twin functions of conservation and modification. According to Srinivas Bhattacharya, "Education is also cultural agent and it is concerned with the functions of conserving and transmitting (new frontiers in east west philosophy)." So we need a complete change in our educational system if we want to make our democracy as well as our social system adaptable to the present day circumstances.

For understanding the educational reforms which are introduced or should be introduced it is necessary to study the development of Indian education through ages because the progress of the country depends upon the kind of education it provides. The period of ancient Indian education covers several centuries from pre-historic times to the Muslim period. Particularly speaking it can be divided into two periods—first is the Brahamanic or the Hindu education period which was followed by Buddhist education period. Our knowledge of Brahamanic education is obtained from the Vedas. At that time family was the only educational agency and the head of the family transmitted knowledge of Vedas to his son. Later on

Gurus were accepted in the profession of teaching. At that time the aim of education according to A.S. Altikar in his book "Education in ancient India" was "the preservation of ancient heritage and culture was the most important aim of ancient Indian education". It used to form character, build up personality and preserve ancient culture. As education in ancient India prepared man for life in this world as well as the next it enabled him to solve the problems of this life and to realise spiritual values. So Vedic literature formed the chief item of curriculum. Usually a student learned only one of the four Vedas. The teachers of ancient time were against harsh punishment. The women in ancient India enjoyed higher status and so they had the right to utter sacred mantras. Even professional education emerged during this period but it was mostly confined to the military education.

Buddhist education differed from the Hindu education in many respects. It destroyed domestic ties and education was imparted by the teacher in the monastry. Moreover all castes were equally admissible to the Buddhist community and the medium of instruction was Sanskrit. Nalanda was the great educational institution that existed in India from 5th to 12th centuries. The foreign travellers have praised the working of Nalanda very much. When Huan Tsang visited India there were 5000 monastries which imparted education. They used to teach Vidyas namely grammar, arts, craft, medicine, logic and philosophy. Although memorising was considered important but discussion was also encouraged. Women were given permission to enter the Order and this provided good impetus to the cause or family education. Buddhist education was religious in character but it did not ignore professional education Even when Buddhism as a religion had lost its hold Buddhist education continued.

Muslim education first appeared in the 8th century A.D. and Mohammed Gouri laid the foundation of Muslim domination in India and during Tughlak Kings Muslim education made a considerable progress. It has been pointed out that Akbar and other Mughal emperors contributed a lot towrds education. They established Maktabs and Madrassahs. Muslim education was religious in character and it propagated Muslim religion. Great emphasis was put on Persian language. With the exception of Akbar all other Muslim rulers neglected the education of Hindus. After this Western education was introduced. Western education started with the educational activities of the Roman Catholic Missions in India and

perhaps Portuguese were the first to start elementary schools in some parts of the country. The first Jesuit College was built in 1575 at Goa and provisions for advanced studies in Latin; logic and theology were made. Portuguese missionaries introduced printing in India. According to Mr. Mukerji (History of Education in India) the Portuguese may be considered the architects of modern system of education in India. The education of the Indian people was neglected. According to the Charter of the East India Company education was within the duties of the Company and so missionaries started arriving in India. With the renewal of the Charter in 1813 they wanted to bring a change in the educational system of India and for the first time they decided to introduce English language in educational curriculum. In Macaulay's Minute of 1835, that clinched the issue and teaching of English education was introduced. Macaulay wanted to create as he said, "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in its taste and in morals and intellect". Macaulay's Minutes were received with mixed feelings. Some praised him as the torch bearer in the path of progress and others criticised him. In 1854 was given Woods education despatch which recommended the abolition of provincial boards and councils of education and creation of department of public instructions. It also recommended the establishment of universities and the need for mass education and the establishment of the training centres for the teachers. The importance of education for women was realise. In 1882 the Hunter Commission was set up. The Commission recommended gradual expansion of institutions and the withdrawl of the Government from primary education. They also recommended that there should be a gradual transfer of the secondary schools and colleges to efficient private bodies. They made several recommendations regarding secondary education. Education under provincial autonomy did not undergo a substantial change. The education was made a transferred subject and so it became the direct responsibility of the Ministries. Infact at this time people were more interested in the political problems and paid less attention to education. The rapid expansion of education resulted in the lowering of quality and so the Hartdog Committee was set up. The Committee recommended diversified curriculum and laid more emphasis upon industrial and commercial subjects. It was during this period that the provincial governments undertook certain bold experiments such as the basic education or the Wardha scheme at the elementary level.

University Grants Commission was set up in 1953. It has enabled universities and colleges to provide improved facilities in teaching, research, libraries and laboratories. The Commission also recommended the use of mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the university level. Since independence there has been much expansion in the field of higher education. The number of universities has increased and the number of the colleges affiliated to the universities has swelled up. The University Grants Commission has also started centres of advanced studies and the University Grants Commission has helped them a lot. Even professional and technical education has improved with the creation of All India Council for technical education. Education in medical science, engineering, agriculture has been given primary importance during the different plan periods. Many engineering colleges and agricultural colleges were set up. Similarly teachers' education has also been improved. There has been pioneer work through Extension programmes for not only keeping the knowledge of the teachers up-to-date but also bridging the gulf between the secondary schools and the colleges. As far as adult education is concerned much work has been done. According to 1961 census 76% of the people are illiterate in India. Instruction programmes have been taken up by the Government of India for educating adults.

The study of education will be incomplete if we do not take up Gandhiji's idea of education because this has influenced the planners in India to a great extent. Gandhiji related social progress and educational reconstruction. According to Dr. K.L. Shrimali "educational reorganisation was necessary for brining greater and greater freedom to the people of India in social, political and economic spheres and this system in its turn would bring further improvement in education". Gandhiji's briefs form the dynamic side of his general philosophy. By education he meant an all round drawing out of the best in the man. So he wanted that there should be

education of intellect, body and spirit. In his book "True Education" he says "man is neither mere intellect nor the heart or soul alone. A proper and harmonious combination of all the three is required for the making of the whole man and this constitutes the true economics of education". That is why basic education was adopted and the Zakir Hussain Committee formulated the objectives and prepared a syllabus for the first seven years of child's education. The report was adopted by the Government of India and the basic education got much impetus during the Five Year Plans. The new scheme anticipated a better type of society imbued with the national spirit and working for self-reliance in the country. Basic education wanted to relate education with the traditional values of the country; and has been a success to some extent. It is generally believed that basic education inculcates the spirit of democratic citizenship because the foundations of basic education are the foundations of democracy. It also develops the thinking of man socially because emphasis has been laid on the ideals of life—truth, justice and cooperative efforts. This was one of the most important reforms at the primary level.

Similarly at the higher secondary level multi-purpose schools came into being and these can also be considered as the development of basic education at the higher level. The objectives of the higher secondary education was the development of habits, attitudes and qualities of character which will make them better citizens of India and the curriculum of the higher standard education was formulated by keeping this end in mind. So education was primarily directed towards the making of democratic society and so education at the higher secondary level also developed a lot. The provision for diversfied courses of instruction were introduced at the higher secondary level. The multi-purpose schools employed Activity method and the individual and group work.

Recently a few changes with regard to the pattern of the system of education have been adopted by the schools in the different

states. This is called 10+2+3 system of education. One year of schooling has been increased because school-going children will be given professional training. The purpose is to make the school education complete in itself. Schools will have to set up workshops for imparting training in different professions.

Another change refers to the examinations, failure, in the conventional sense of the word, has been abolished. If a student fails in one subject he will not have to waste one year ; he will be allowed to take test in that very subject again. This is a sensible change because examinations depend upon chance and ignore so many accidental factors, which determine student's performance. Moreover if a child is not good at a particular subject it is wrong to say that he is not good at other subjects. Examination should be a test of ability and not of one's knowledge of all subjects.

The system of awarding marks has been replaced by the grading system. It is not logical to believe that an examiner is capable of assessing the examinee's attempt even upto one percent by awarding one mark more or less. In some subjects it is impossible to be accurate to such an extent.

Open university, if started, will be another breakthrough in the field of education. It is still under the consideratlon of the government. It is difficult to imagine anything about its organisation and functions. But if we link up the casual remarks of the Education Minister we can say that it will allow all to appear in any examination of any standard without having basic qualifications.

They are also planning to harness the energy and potential of the youth by launching a national voluntary service scheme. They wanted to collaborate with the Health Ministry to enlist young people for fighting diseases ; that would be called 'youth against disease' programme. In this manner the Government has decided to regulate enrolment in higher education in order to conform it to.

the quantum and pattern of employment opportunities in the country. Regarding reforms various proposals have been made by the educationists. Some of them say that schools should be agents of culture due a new system of evolution should be established. They also say that well thought out philosophy of education should be adopted instead of making changes from time to time. Schools shouldal so encourage active learning. Education acts as an instrument of change and should include moral and religious education. More education research centres should be set up and a blend of the traditional and modern values should be admitted. We should agree with the report of the Indian Education Commisson which says, "if science and Ahimsa join together in creating senses of the people mankind will attain a level of persevernce, propriety and spiritual insight".

"IF GOD DID NOT EXIST IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO INVENT HIM"

Whether God is a reality, concept or a myth is difficult to decide. Those who try to find a tangible proof, fail to find any but those who start with faith, find Him in every atom and every creation. None can deny that there is an ultimate reality, if we are to take our reasoning faculty to its logical conclusion; there is the final truth, if we pursue the idea of basic principles behind appearances, to final end. A scientist without admitting God as a reality, concedes His presence by [illegible] genious stroke of imagination [illegible] cannot be discounted.

In the earlier times man was leading the life of savages; reasoning faculty was stunted to suit physiological needs. sympathy was limited to personal self and there was no society, no laws, no

conduct and nothing else except animals desires and personal demands. In such a state of affairs, we will have to give credit to Hobbes's [illegible] Dawn of reason, [illegible] and this made man to resign to his fate, which was God's agency to administer justice.

With political organisation, the people in power, found God a [illegible] opposition and to retain [illegible] rights of [illegible] supposed to be a privileged citizen favoured by God. In administering justice he carried out the wishes of God ; he was supposed not to commit any mistake because he executes the orders of the infallible God ; disobedience, obviously, of the king meant defiance of God's law. Whatever harm the theory may have done, it was able to hold the people together and had created conditions for political organisation and for inculcating the sense of duty and obedience to the law of the land. It was difficult to bring the people of different tribes under the political authority without invoking the name of God. They owed their allegiance to king and indirectly to God. At a later stage idealists like Hegel and others considered state as a march of God upon earth that is the highest ideal. This did not have much impact and perhaps reference to God was to emphasise perfection in well-known terms.

Coming down from the political and social advantages of the concept of God to the benefits reaped by the individuals, we have many to count. Life is a struggle, where the fittest survive and as such involves risks of failure. Apart from determination, courage and capabi-

lity one should have hope to succeed. Once frustrated in one's effort, ... faith in ... over his ... aritable; an optimist finds every thing bright—when 'God is in heaven' every thing is right with the world, thinks the optimistic poet, Browning. Had this not been the case, sins would have been hanging heavy over the conscience of the individuals as was the case with Lord Jim, the hero of Joseph Conrad's novel. Such a person has a tendency to become indifferent to social obligations and his behaviour is abnormal. Had optimism died out there would have been no contribution to the

[illegible]

realities to light. [illegible]

[illegible] People [illegible] and what [illegible] is the [illegible] Blind [illegible] 'death to hide' yet he consoles himself by saying—

They also serve who stand and wait.

It is a complete resignation to God's will and such an attitude, in no case, generates hatred for life. Fatalism, with all the inherent and implied defects, never saps the energy to forge ahead.

Shaw, the famous English dramatist, propounded the theory of Life Force, which is working, in more or less, an impersonal manner. Perhaps he discovers it as a scientific minded man's substitute for God. His unconventional attitude makes him to decry the conventional concept of God when he says—"Beware of the man whose God is in the skies." If God [illegible] is the mystery [illegible] interest alive. [illegible] from his watch towers is enjoying the tragic, scenes of 'sinking ships and praying hands.' Even here the concept of God makes one to realise the [illegible] Taking [illegible] is the "anc[illegible]" Fear of death loses its powe to shake, zest for life gets newer sharp-[illegible]

"LORD, WHAT FOOLS THESE MORTALS BE"

Despite the premium which man places upon his discoveries and inventions, ideas and ideals, rationale and skill, he has not been able to touch even the fringes of wisdom. His inventions and discoveries have landed him in such a situation as has endangered his existence, shaken the foundations of the citadel, which he has been beautifying since ages. His ideals are worshipped for a decade or so and then either pass into oblivion or are defaced beyond recognition. His rational approach has made him cold calculating machine, with no human touch about him. His skill has perverted his ends it is used in destroying others and gaining mastery. Do we still think that man

is wise ? Wisdom does not lie in knowing all or in knowing well, it lies in using knowledge well. A scientist, who makes the weapons of destruction, an artist, who instigates the people to revolt, a politician, who pushes the world down a pecipice, a scholar, who dispenses knowledge that corrupts thinking cannot be wise. Like fools they consider their predecessors unwise, they pride over their achievements and triumphs and though profess to be better equipped, in terms of knowledge and experience, yet find themselves like a rat in a blind alley. Their vision is limited not only by space and time but also by their incapacity to extend it into the misty future. So his wisest thoughts lose their relevance as the values of life undergo a change. Follies of the past seem to make man wiser but the wisdom of today comes out to be a folly of tomorrow.

Modern man thinks that he is politically much advanced ; rights of man have been upheld against the rights of the administrators and man is considered to be his own ruler. They say that they have the right to speak, right to think and right to live and the Governments are convenient devices to administer themselves. Democracy, they think, is a long way from kingship and dictatorship—it is the history of an arduous struggle of man to enjoy freedom. Modern democratic Governments are for the people and by the people—stays till people want it and as acts the people wish it to act. This is, some may say, the sweetest fruit of wisdom, the best product of accumulated wisdom of ages, the Pope, poet of the 18th century, begins out the foolishness of this wisdom when he says : "For forms of Governments let fools contest/whichever administered best is best." The transition from kingship to democracy and then from democracy to kingship is natural. The son of a king, who is enthroned after his death, often proves to be unworthy of his office. It gives an opportunity to the *courtiers to capture power. They lead a luxurious life and go on imposing* taxes to raise funds. This process brings a breaking point when the people revolt and instal a popular leader as the head of the Government. This is the birth of democracy. It is a Government by the inexperienced and so incompetent persons. Consequently inefficiency, corruption, favouritism and nepotism are rampant. An extremely clever and competent person takes advantage of the situation and gives an efficient administration with one man at the helm of affairs. Dictatorship is born. If the dictator happens to be

people would like his son to take the office. Thus it is the cycle of different Governments, which completes its round. How can we say that democracy is the product of the saner self of man ? Moreover people enjoy freedom in name only ; freedom of thought is snatched by stuffing the mind with ready-made opinions through press, propaganda and platforms. People are fed with distorted information and an attempt is made to blur their vision. Can such people enjoy any freedom of speech ? Of course not, and still they think that they enjoy freedom of speech. Government moulds their opinions to suit its purpose still they believe that the Government is responding to public opinion. People in power buy votes, intimidate the electorate, make false promises and get elected still a man in the street believes that he has elected his representatives. Is it not ignorance ? Is it not folly ? "Lord, what fools these mortals be."

Scientific advancement is another feather in the cap of man. He has harnessed Nature to his advantage, probed the mysteries of space and planets and has made tremendous progress in medical science. With technological progress we hoped to abolish war, poverty, hunger, disease, violence, waste and injustice. But in our effort to do so we have created a perpetual war of nerves, more poverty and hunger by reducing the purchasing power of money, more disease by polluting the atmosphere and creating a strain, more violence by equipping us with better weapons of destruction, and more injustice by justifying it through racial and national superiority. Apart from it science has brought us to the brink of disaster ; hydrogen and cobalt bombs will annihilate the world out of its existence. Can we call it wisdom ? If a creature prepares for its own destruction and claims to have achieved unparalleled triumphs should we call him wise ? Similarly science claims to have made man rational, objective and detached. But humanitarianism has gone dry, aesthetic sense has come to an end, affection and love have been banished. Is it wisdom ? Mad man leads the blind and we are not coming to any specific stage of progress. Wisdom does not lie in knowing the veins in the wings of a fly but in making the veins of human beings stronger. If we reel back to the primitive ages we are the fools sans reason.

Since long man has been trying to unravel the mystery that surrounds God, death and soul. We have been bandied like a shuttle-

cock from one idea to another but landing us in the same wilderness from which they promised to lift us up. Many religious prescriptions have been tried but even the best stood baffled. Despite century-old investigations men's knowledge of God is as insufficient and inaccurate as it was. Death defies logic and what happens after death is still a mystery. Man knows that he is to die as others die and the useless parade of passions, baseless desire for fame and limitless urge for power are to be rounded up with death. Despite this realisation, man ignores the inevitable death to have his own way. Is it wisdom ? Not at all.

[illegible]

mulate money—but this pageant of life is unsubstantial and melts away soon. Still we never realise its unsubstantial nature ; enthusiastically are we caught in its labyrinth and happily do we demonstrate our involvement. We are so engrossed in its activities that we deliberately delude ourselves into the belief that life is not a vision or a dream. Self-delusion is perhaps the worst form of foolishness. Earthly life is not the terminus, it is merely an inn, a mile-stone of our journey but we never take it to be so.

Foolishness of the mortals has done harm to themselves and not to any one else. Perhaps it dates back to Adam's folly of tasting the forbidden fruit or it originates in Satan's resolve to stage a show down to God by fair or foul means. Whatever may be the genesis of the foolery of man it is certain that experience has not made him wiser, otherwise history would have never repeated itself. The adage, 'to err is human' clearly spells out the futility of the claim of wisdom; if the steps to progress are still 'hit and trial' method, it is difficult to distinguish man from animals. But man, all his life strives for serenity that "sad lucidity of soul" in which he can catch up the beauty of human spirit. As soon as youthful enthusiasm gives way to quiet tone one realises the folly of his struggle and—

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The chill ascends from feet to knee

The fever sings in mental wires

If to be warmed, then I must freeze

And quake in frigid purgatorial fires

Of which the flames is rose and the smoke is briars.

[T. S. ELIOT]

POLITICS IS THE ART OF GAINING POWER AND THE CRAFT OF RETAINING IT

"*To reign in hell is better to be ruled in heaven*", is what Milton's Satan in *Paradise Lost* believes. In no way it is the self-consolation of a defeated angel nor a humble resignation to the ministers of fate ; it is the ingrained ambition of all the earthly people. Physical superiority gave more exalted status to man as compared with women, more prominence to might than to right, more chances for the fittest to survive. Wars were fought to establish superiority over others, and to force the nations to take up humiliating path of paying homage. Civilised nations have begun to realise that war is the obsolete method of obtaining decisions and physical power has been substituted by the mechanical power. But the love of power—the desire to dictate and direct action and thinking of others—is still uppermost in human psychology. Rather it has assumed many other shapes—shapes that are painted in fair colours and are given very attractive names. Communists recommend the regimentation of the labouring class to exert collective influence for their collective interests, the capitalists use money as the source of economic power used for exploiting others. International alliances are designed to pool the resources and power to bully other nations to dance to their tune or horrify them into inaction. But the controlling power in

the international and national spheres, is political power. It is all-embracive—wielding its sway over social and economic life—it is omnipotent on earth. It can mobilise public opinion, gear up propaganda machinery, make or repeal laws invoke or amend constitution and what not. Under democratic set up political authority, contrary to layman's belief, assumes wider powers. Backed by the public opinion, supported by the majority of the legislators, armed with the means to keep the people in a state of ignorance, it crosses the limits of even dictatorial powers. As democracy affords and guarantees equal opportunities, political manipulation is the handy means to come to power. And political power, like the most benumbing intoxicant, makes the persons in power to forget social ethics, political morality and obligations. This satisfies the ego of man and politics becomes the means to reach the goal. Politics is the art of gaining power.

Politics is the lever to come to power and use it. It is so intimately connected with ideologies, political and economic, that in democratic countries people are befooled into the belief that a particular ideology will serve as a panacea for their ills. They are charmed to such an extent that the ideal or ideology becomes an intellectual superstition for them ; they stick to it fanatically, they live and die for it. A large number of the Germans died because they believed that they were born to rule. Thus Hitler enchanted people by talking of racial purity, the Italian dictator, Moussolini, fascinated the people with Fascism, Yahya Khan gave a powerful expression to anti-India feelings. People must support, even if after coming to power he becomes all-powerful dictator. Without people's support even the powerful tyrants like the Czar of Russia or Luis of France had to bow out of office. Politics is the means to win the people and so power.

In democratic states, particularly, politics is to enlist the active support of the people. Election manifestoes are to dazzle the people, who are baited by them. False promises, appeal to their sentiments, political baits, fine phrases are some of the tricks of the politicians to get the support of the people. They feed them on ready-made opinions and appealing ideologies.

The opposition is outwitted. The strategic planning, out-

manoeuvring their moves, counteracting their programmes are part and parcel of politics. Within the party itself the opponents are won over; posts are offered, their factions are promised representation, linguistic groups are satisfied. Persons representing certain communities, certain sections and certain interests are tackled through politics. When one steers clear through these obstacles that impede, one finds a smooth way to power. It is through political feelers that the responses of the people are gathered, it is through the spirit to compromise that opposition is won, it is through the art of discovering dominant influences, it is through manipulating the whole affair to one's advantage that one comes to power. Are these not the methods of politics ?

Gaining political power is, of course, an art, needing the knowledge of the working of human heart, national aspirations, and national hopes and fears. If the people in power fail to conform to the wishes of the common man, fail to channelise their energies within the embankment of the national tradition, their power cannot be preserved. Gandhiji, astute politician as he was, evolved a non-violent method of struggling against the colonial rule, from the cultural heritage of India. Clearly it branches out from the experiences had aspirations, failures and triumphs of the Indians, as a nation. Had he imposed a method from outside, it would have needed adjustment, particularly on the part of the people. Generally a common man is suspicious of new ideas, he is orthodox and so immune to all the novel influences. Aspirants for political power, as all politicians are, will have to defer to the wishes and aspirations of the people. Alternatively, propaganda machinery should be used to inculcate those feelings and ideologies. Politics, undoubtedly, is the craft of retaining power.

It is easy to win trophies but difficult to retain them. There are many dangers, potential and real, to the political power. Even when in power, a man remains a man—a bundle of frailities and an embodiment of weaknesses. So while doling out favours—and it is essential to show favours for retaining power—personal limitations may not allow him to bless all. This breeds frustration. As realities fall short of expectations, in politics particularly, vindictive campaign to undermine power structure and assert one's own impor-

tance, is started. Some, more arrogant and counting too mucl on themselves, may form new parties, whereas more subtle diplomats effect a crack from within. Thus there are dangers from without, hidden and obvious. So men in power will have to be cautious, unlike Caesars's wife above suspicions, ready to renounce friendship, capable of realignment with others. They will have to be, more or less. opportunists to get the best out of the opportunities and doing best tc get opportunities. Like Shelley's West Wind they are destroyers and preservers—destroy that pulls them down and preserve that supports them. Politics is, of course, the craft of retaining power.

If coming to power is meteoric, downfall may be dramatic. The leaders, finding a gap between theory and practice, fall short of the promises, expectations and even obligations. Popular resentment gathers momentum and may come to a head in the form of a revolution. People will have to be calmed down. This needs the craft of propaganda—tell two lies before coming to one truth and it also presupposes the craft of liquidating the cause of resentment. Silence must be secured either by making an outward show of observing ethical principles in this unethical game or by fulfilling the promises made to the supporters. Politics is harnessed to retain power.

Politicians are exposed because political rivalries sink down to personal animosity. The opposition tries to tarnish the public image of the people in power. Some adventure may fail and other politi cians exploit the situation. If opposition gets the upper hand, the man in power meets the fate of Yahya Khan and Ayub Khan. Sometimes, misdeeds of the politicians in power are brought to light. In fact eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and vigilance brings darkers spots to light. The people in power may be shaken : a Watergate scandal may rock even Mr. Nixon, the President of America, who was holding one of the most powerful offices among World Governments. It is stubborn attitude, his adherence to his own point of view, his skill to manipulate, his effective lobbying, in short his political moves will help him to retain power.

Laski, the famous political thinker, said that man in power tries to keep the society static. He endeavours to freeze the currents of the social change because their own stability is threatened by change. Out of the changes emerge new values which need new adjustments,

so such people are reduced to square pegs in round holes. Thus they try to make the society static. But society by nature is in a process of change ; the evolution of life demands social changes. Society is essentially dynamic. It is politics only that can hold, though for some time only, the currents of change.

National politics, in some respects, is more dirty than the international politics ; in the former sole aim is to gain power, by hook or by crook whereas in the latter, at least ,national interests are kept in mind. National politics reduces itself to personality cult – Mao is worshipped and followed, Stalin was considered a prophet and a saviour. Building up an image in the modern world of conflicting interests, needs political manipulation. It is another method to retain power. Politics is the ladder to climb up and the means to consolidate one's gains.

"AS CIVILIZATION ADVANCES POETRY ALMOST NECESSARILY DECLINES"

The authenticity of this hurried statement of young Macaulay has been exposed to criticism from various quarters. But at the same time, it, cannot be denied that this controversial point has its own charm and weight which has withstood the shower of all this adverse criticism. The terms Civilization and Poetry have a wide range of definitions and aspects. Every aspect, introduces us to a new standpoint. And it is in the light of these that the decline and rise of poetry can be determined.

Civilized age as Macaulay makes use of the term, is an enlightened one in which intelligence, science, philosophy, just classification and subtle analysis abound Alongwith the abundance of wit and eloquence, abundance of verses and even of good ones, but little poetry are other characteristics of the enlightened ages. Civilization

sciences there is no chance that the world will ever roll back, or even remain stationary. But with poetry and other intuitive arts, the case is quite different. Here the progress of the civilisation does not mean the enchantment of the object of imitation. The material or intellectual refinement, in the realm of these arts may help to bring about the mechanical development but does that mean real progress ? The poetry of Pope essentially lacks the genuine charm of imaginative quality—the inevitable trait of poetry. It is not fascinating in this manner, however, attractive its mechanical flow may be. Here the refinement is to be noticed but it is not without the touch of artificial language about it. The introduction of philosophy and virginity of imagination and the analytical attitude is still worse for it. Now the enlightened age must be philosophical and analytical and these characteristics are detrimental to the very progress of poetry. Philosophy and the analysis help the evolution of better theories but to be a bit rhetorical, these make worse poems. The poet has to paint a picture of life, and if he tries to be analytical, surely he will be unnatural rather than poetic. Of course, we can tolerate the introduction of faith or no faith at all but dissection is no poetry. Analysis, we see, kills the very essence of poetry, but the fact remains that a poet can offer to be analytical whereas an analytic cannot be a poet in the real sense of the word. The contention, that refinement is the bane of poetry, is again ruled out by illustrations from poetry in general and we might take up this point afterwards.

The progress of poetry in rude age, then needs, a further explanation. The illusion that poetry produces on mind might be compared in a borrowed simile, to the illusion that poetry is at its best a magic lantern in dark, that is, the dark ages in which the "natural unsoundness of mind" is best suited for the appreciation of real poetry. The extent of abnormality and the intensification of emotion are at their best in the rude state of Macaulay's belief. We can take up the intensity of emotion exercised by the romantic poets. Byron's fiery passion, Keat's sensuous disposition or Shelley's etherial flights are actions of no ordinary heat or intensity and the full fledged expression that is borne out of this extremism is real poetry representing a rude age. As we begin to judge and compare rather than create, this intensity of emotion is in the decline and so is poetry. It does not remain unadulterated and undiluted.

Look to the literature of any country, and we will feel as if the greatest works of intuitive art furnished in the darkest ages, reads the most ancient and the greatest form of poetry, were revealed or were brought into existence in the pre-historic times. Similar is the case with certain other scriptures in verse. Poetry has been a favourite pastime in those good old scientific periods and out of these rude practices of the uncivilized man, were born certain immortal pieces of literature. The influence of these arts was also wonderful. Think of an Indian musician harnessing the Nature through his melodies, the civilized community will laugh it off in their own critical fashion quite neglecting the creative side of the whole thing. In his criticism of Dante, Macaulay asserts that these original works of art were not, appreciated even in their own rude times. But anyhow the creation is there, whereas in the civilized state criticism is of a destructive nature.

Before endeavouring to differ with the Macaulay's belief, it is in place to refer to Kenneth Richmond's view about poetry in the dark ages. He is referring to the Anglo-Saxons, Lautes etc., whose even battle had enough of poetry. Into the fray they ran, shouting and singing. At such times their very weapons made music, spears yelled, bows screamed and arrows sang. To the primitive mind everything was instinct with life and purpose and therefore, highly expressive. And the contents of their songs would have been the genuine poetry. In these primitive people of a rude and vigorous democracy, commonality of spontaneous eloquence flourished. Poetry, then, was the expression and possession of every man. The lofty strain of the music had natural high seriousness and intense melancholy ; and the makers of the lofty strains were ordinary people who had the curiosity of a child to look at things. Their animist child mentality was such as to end on stalks and stones. With strange power of their very ingeniousness installed the simpler subjects with an all pervading mystery and impressiveness. The pigeon holed classification was unknown and so it could deal everyday affairs in a free and unshakled expression. It does not mean that Saxon poetry was rich or rare but on the other hand, the crude emotional stimulus which it presented, had a relish about it. Criticism was unknown. Today we are not in a position to feel the essential thrill of this poetry but it is held that it possessed a vast contemporary vitality and that in a real way it must have been far more intimate, closer to the life of every man

than is the cold touch of the twentieth century. Their art was primarily intuitive, not intellectual. Cynewulf's poetry might be instinct with actuality and straightforward statements of facts, but it will be better than Tennyson's dream world, which is the unreal creation of the poet's mind. The latter might be more studied, more artistic, more intellectualised but in his subjective poetry was really better than Cynewulf's objective approach. "Tennyson", says Kenneth Richmond, "is far more finished, correct to hair breadth, toiled more precisely, yet he lacks what Cynewulf possesses—"rightness, authenticity." Whereas in its original expression poetry was by the people for the people, later it became more isolated in manifestation gradually. This might be taken as one form of its decline. This is one view but Macaulay proves the decline by quite a different approach. He holds the view that as men know more and think more, look less at individuals and more at classes. They, therefore, make better theories and more poems. But modern poet would like to cut across all the present stratification of public taste ; stratification which to him are a sign of social disintegration. In Macaulay's case poetry has declined because it has ceased to be individualistic attitude of the modernist. Anyway whatever the nature of this controversy may be, the fact remains that the enlightened age has not enhanced the beauty of poetry. Whereas the ancient poet drew the sources of inspiration from the soil ; the Renaissance poet sought to be inspired by aristocratic and academic channels. So naturally poetry became unpopular in the modern age whereas it has lost its universality. Cooking or smoking a cigarette are themes too microscopic to be placed in the works of real poetry.

So far we have seen the positive sides of the whole affair, now let us take up the other side of the picture. Poetry does not decline and this view is held by most of those who think impressionistically. Macaulay's statement is doubtful because of its hurried generalization. It is only the emphasis that shifts ; the change of outlook does not mean a change for the worst. Poetry has not declined in the romantic period, because it was in the rude tradition which Macaulay holds the test of good poetry. Now in the 18th century also the scope was limited, but the decline was not there. Everything that happens brings a new subject for poetry—the mechanical age gave poems like the *Ascent of Fu Six* (Aeroplane). Poetry might become compartmental.

but it can adopt attitude in its own way. The primitive man might have been struck with wonder when he just beheld the stars but the modern cannot feel like that.

In the second instance what an artist produces, is the work of inspiration. Shakespeare, Milton, Dante, Goethe and Browning were born in the enlightened ages and yet, their contribution is ever new. Cathevil asserts that it may indeed be impossible for the 19th century to produce a Homer but it would have been quite impossible for Homer's age to produce a Shakespeare or a Goethe. The atmosphere of the age might give the artist an outlook never known before. An inspired artist can certainly write great poetry because he cannot be touched by the spirit of the large class of people who cannot remain unaffected by the scientific outlook and so they cannot appreciate. Milton's greatness lies in his creative energy ; It is not owing to the enlightened age he lived in.

To sum up we agree with Cathevil that, "It is, of course, true that poetry does not necessarily flourish with the progress of science, but it is false that it necessarily decays. It stands under other laws of development. So the thesis of Macaulay needs modification."

(*Adapted*)

"IT IS BETTER TO BUILD CASTLES IN THE AIR THAN TO BUILD ON THE GROUND".

The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded
Leaves not a rack behind.

(Shakespeare—Tempest)

The monuments of architectural skill, the symbols of human ingenuity—the Taj in India, Pyramids of Egypt, Hanging Gardens of Babylon and the Leaning Tower of Pisa—are subject to decay. Either

the inevitable and inexorable time writes their epitaphs or man, blinded by the halo of his glory or consumed by the fiery passion for power, spells doom for them. For them, there is an impending catastrophe, may be slow, mouldering and withering into Hades or may sweep like an avalanche, or moulten lava to drag to the shores of Lethe. Building with stone is not enough if man becomes stony, no use fabricating steel structures if it goes into our heart. Till man learns, as Ruskin opines, to build well, not with stone but with flesh, not with cold white marble but with the warm and crimson blood, till he learns that temples are not made with bricks but are riveted with hearts, his magnificence will be meaningless. Are the 'castles in the air' enternal ? Are such conceptions not deceptive, empty of content and meaning ? Will not one, while blundering in the smokescreen of vague visions, be lost ? Moreover, if earthly castles are destroyed once in centuries, visions can be demolished any time. T.S. Eliot's Prufrock with a sense of satisfaction. Considers a single moment sufficient to undo his decision.

Such 'castles' can be raised to the highest and razed to the lowest in no time. Still these visions are the props of human progress, are the bulwark for mental, emotional, moral and spiritual life so stores as buttress for man's superiority over other creations of God.

Man struggles and strives not because he considers it his duty to struggle or his aim to strive. Generally there are two motives behind man's effort that is personal and impersonal. As for as personal motivation is concerned one is generally guided by one's progress in life and one's personal gains. Impersonal motivation may fall beyond the pale of personal prejudices and emotions but they do guide the activities. Sometimes ideals persuade the people to make an effort, at other times some emotional reactions are released by external impersonal influences. Out of these are born ideals, which are tempting because they raise us higher from the earthly, narrow and mundane life. These haunt us and like divinity shape our ends. Ideals remove the fluffy, smothering haze of cant and catchwords. Declaration of Rights in America, Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in Indian Constitution have been the political ideals whose influence on the course of history cannot be under-estimated. Ideals in their budding state may be mere imaginative conceptions divorced from reality, but as man's thoughts gather round it ideals become the dynamo of human effort. They nibble away the foundations of worn-out beliefs and

erect new supports for them. If old customary thought does not undergo any change, man is stuck up in the mire of times.

By building castles in the air one can give directions to one's thinking. It is wrong to think that imagination takes us beyond the orbit of reason. As man's mind works within the limitations of senses and physical existence it cannot be completely separated from the realities and the facts of life. Imaginative reality is purged of grossness, it does not cater to momentary wishes and transitory urgencies. Take the c[illegible] of the tragic incidents of life. We may [illegible] upo[illegible] may [illegible] spiritually enlightened. It can cover the ordinary things with a celestial light.

When we build castles in the air our imagination works at white heat. Imagination is a purer form of mental activity. It needs detachment from personal emotions and personal prejudices. Imagination widens outlook and endows the faculty to judge correctly. Intuition is perhaps the purest form of imagination that is spiritual imagination. We can include even prophecy and spiritual enlightenment within its fold. They colour the feelings, which serve as the driving force in life. Visions, when they get relevance in the context of life, become thoughts and thoughts and feelings cannot recognise a common frontier—as one discovers no common frontier between a ugly, fashionable woman and the scent that she has used. These 'castles' help us in balancing intuition and reason into a technique by which we can evaluate the world of facts in the perspective of an world of values. A purely ideational culture like the Medieval European, threatened by a militant philosophy and Muslim religious feelings, produced an Aquinas who could combine the claims of reason and intuition. Modern man is tense, uncertain, adrift and needs the help of these 'castles' to reconcile with the innate desire to live. Utilitarianism has brought depravity in Man's nature; to us evil is nothing worse than simple bad cold, to us cruelty is nothing more than a cat's play with a rat. Our thinking will have to rise above the earthly level—imagination can help us.

Science is supposed to be at war with our dreams. It [illegible] the importance of imagination as it cannot be measured, it

seen or grasped. Can we say that science does not build castles in the air ? The very act of conceiving an idea is building castles. Not only Coleridge's Kubla Khan conceived of "sunny domes" with 'caves of ice' but also the Organic Chemistry is the product of a dream. Einstein before giving his theory of Relativity used to dream of harmony discoverable in the movements of the planets. We come to future reality only through our dreams. No activity of human thought can be complete without the touch of imagination. Political theories, economic laws are based upon assumptions which make them nothing but castles. Ideals and ideologies are the synthetic fold of spirit. Though science is analytical, objective and exploratory, yet without having some vague notions, science can neither be analytical nor exploratory.

Imagination is generally considered a help to escape the bitterness of life. Keats in one of his poems calls it a deceiving "elf". Still it cannot be called bad in any sense of the word. Many a time we want to be deceived because we are too weak to stand realities, we want to escape because life becomes dull and mechanical routine. Imagination can make us to forget the worries of life, to smile at the crushing cares. It takes us into the regions where we feel comfortable, happy and satisfied. Getting happiness in life has been one of the greatest enigmas for the philosophers. The Buddha may recommend spiritual meditation for getting happiness. Stoics may think it necessary to kill all desires and passions whereas Epicure may ask you 'Drink and be Merry'. When imagination can afford a solution for such an enigmatic problem, we should consider it one of the best activities of mind.

Imagination is the basis of all the activities serious and triffling. Without imagination no one can be inventive in thinking, and powerful in action. By imagination we do not mean only dreams because dreams can be considered idle imagination. Dreams may be useless but they gives rise to artistic activity.

It is wrong to say that imagination has no logic behind it ; there may not be logic as science would like to have, but there is logic of a higher type in all imaginative conceptions. There might not be any cause and effect but there is bound to be a conclusion that is based upon certain assumptions that have been absorbed through the imagination of the individuals. The logic of imagination is the logic of

probability and it is always more powerful than the logic of earthly reasoning.

If we take purely fatalistic view we will have to say that there are some impersonal forces which are working against human beings. Man's hopes are frustrated and aspirations cheated. Happiness becomes an occasional episode in the general drama of life. Man is hunted down by the hounds of fate. That is why Keats wanted to "fade far away, dissolve and quite forget" "the weariness, the fever and the fret" of this world. This is the world "where men sit and hear each other's groan", and "where but to think is to be full of sorrow." But we can blink over the worries of life through en-

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"PEACE HATH ITS VICTORIES, NOT LESS RENOWNED THAN WAR"

ed, the triumphant and the defeated, the proud and the humiliated. War brings material benefits and the territorial sovereignty to the victor whereas the defeated loses his liberty, free thinking, traditional way of life, even civilization and culture. War was considered necessary to reconcile the two opposing forces and to decide finally the supremacy of the one—ironically enough we can say they justified the

truth of the survival of the fittest. The possessions of the victor were the source of pride and the position of vantage and the power to exploit the victim. War has always been praised by the war-mongers but in reality also war shakes off the sloth which eats upon the motive power behind the national effort. With all the halo of glory war is condemned because it brings in its wake misery, frustration, death, destruction and so many evils which might be found only in Pandora's box. Peace brings normal circumstances and an atmosphere which is charged with love, pity, patience, generosity, kindness etc. War brings victory and the sense of victory whereas peace imparts calmness and zest to work for one's progress and the nation's uplift; war feeds the devil in men whereas peace nurses the angel in him; war leads him towards the abyss of destruction whereas peace takes him to the peaks of glory; peace hath its own victories no less renowned than war.

War, the only weapon of Hitler, the only passion of the great warriors of the past, the only resort of the kings has added to its glories through the centuries extending from the primitive age. It spread, its tentacles in the plans as well as in the thinking of the people who were at the helm of affairs in the different nations and countries. It rooted itself in the psychology of man so as to assume the shape of a natural desire, which craved for its natural expression at intervals. Slavery was the legacy of war but the only means of satisfying the desires of the exploiters, who worked little and depended mostly upon slaves. As a result of it, war gained popularity because it not only brought wealth, both human and material, it also gave the power to rule the defeated. The victor lived like a parasite rather a blood sucker who fed fat on the hard earned money of the poor vanquished and he showed no decency and observed no codes of conduct, and maintained no reverence for human life and christian virtues. Every whim of his was carried through, every prejudice of his was respected, every desire of his was taken to be a law, every word of his was gospel truth. What more power can any other action confer than the war itself.

The victor builds up the economy of his nation on the ruins of the defeated; all the raw materials are used for producing their own finished goods and similarly they try to snatch away gold as much as it is possible. Their own economy becomes stable and they are

in a position to make an all round progress ; whereas the defeated lose their initiative and kill their enthusiasm. As a consequence, they are thrown into the state of inactivity and ignorance. Possession over another's territory help them to get food stuffs and the things which are rare in their own land. That is why many nations cast greedy eyes upon the "Middle East" which has been the source of trouble and arena of war during the last two world wars. It is only copper and uranium which are found in Congo, in great abundance, that had resulted in the tug of war between the two power blocs. There is a great possibility that the Chinese had attacked India to possess the Digboi Oil fields in Assam. The material possession of war, no doubt, cannot be justified on the moral grounds and has outlived their justification even according to the codes of social decency, still this has been the order of the past and the present.

War, they say, rouses up the stagnant activities, it stirs up the stifled enthusiasm, this sharpens the blunt edges of genius, it brings the nations back from hibernation. War, they say, always develops the country's industries rather more development is to be seen in the case of key industries. And that development helped the nations to rise up after a very short time. The knowledge of atom and rockets can easily be traced back to the Second World War ; the efforts to unite the whole of the world and the apparent success in mutual understanding and co-operation are the direct consequences of the bitter experiences of Second World War. The moral blunder which was committed at Hiroshema and Nagasaki has been a constant reminder of the destruction foreboded by the World War. Undoubtedly, the old allies have become the new enemies and the enmity has assumed larger proportions, still war has its own victories and its own strong points.

Peace, with its emphasis upon security of life and security of property, with its insistence upon the moral development and the

of victories, triumphs, which differ in their complexion and content, in their implication and impact from victories of war. Peace develops the finer feelings, love for humanity and a zest to reform the down-

trodden and a passion to ameliorate the conditions of the poor. During peace we try to devote our attention to constructive activities, we weed out the evil customs of the society which corrode it. On its face value it seems to be strange, because idle brain is the devil's workshop but during peace the devil is asleep and the workshop is working for the benefit of the humanity. During war progress is always on the negative side and it prepares the world for a more disastrous catastrophe, but peace establishes the peaceful atmosphere which tries to kill the devilish tendencies.

Not to speak of peace even the peaceful methods of solving the complicated problems of the world have proved their worth; moral force not only brings a peaceful settlement but changes the mental make up and the thinking of those who are concerned. Negotiations can bring about the atmosphere of peace; even under the cover of conflicting views they find a meeting ground, enemies of yesterday become the allies of today. Moreover, moral force reminds them of certain moral principles which are necessary for the man if he wants to live in society. We will have to concede to the force of the arguments when we find that Gandhiji was able to win over the [illegible] of the people and to shake off the foreign yoke. No doubt the [illegible] for the [illegible] ve it up and we are not to condemn it, simply because it was unfit—the fault lies in us and not in the principle. Successful operation of U.N.O. is a pointer towards the fact that not only the common man but even the captains of the States prefer peaceful methods for bringing an end to war. The blockade of Cuba by the Americans made it necessary for Russia to dismantle the missile bases. Is it not a manifestation of leaders' desire to avoid war and to live peacefully and [illegible] problems through [illegible]? The [illegible] is a [illegible] a subs[illegible] of settl[illegible] the atmosphere which brings the parties closer. So peaceful methods have their own trophies, more attractive, more permanent and more impressionable.

Peace had its own victories in the past and definitely more glories than the war. It was during the reign of Elizabeth in England

that many of the new islands were discovered, literature touched its glory ; it was during the Guptas that we were able to establish Golden age ; it was during Ashoka's reign that we were able to spread our message throughout the world ; it is only in the absence of war that we have been able to approach the outskirts of knowledge. Peace sharpens the intellect, increases our knowledge, betters the life, motivates the constructive thinking, refines the finer emotions of men. Under peace we feel that we have been transported to paradise and feel ourselves moving alongwith Adam and Eve enjoying all the sweet scents. No doubt we have to give devil its due when we praise war a bit, still devil remains devil and on any day may appear red in tooth and claw, but peace spreads its warmth in the far flung corners and serves as a guide for prosperity.

"MAN IS BORN FREE BUT EVERY WHERE HE IS IN CHAINS"

Freedom is the birth right of man. Life is reduced to a meaningless drift towards an end if man does not enjoy freedom. Freedom of speech helps in the development of the personality of man, his ideologies are trimmed into a shape, his ideas have a better flowering. Till a person speaks out his mind his thinking remains choked ; appreciation of his point of view encourages him to think whereas opposition sharpens intellect and consolidates correct thinking. Community life demands an exchange of views or sharing of grief—"Where people sit and hear each other's groan"—and joys. If society is to adopt a democratic set up, every one should be allowed to express one's point of view if the resultant opinion is to be formed systematically. Similarly freedom to act, move and associate give not only psychological satisfaction by satisfying his personal ego but also a sense of individuality. Man unconsciously or consciously merges his personal self with the social self but even this is goaded by the desire to be secure. It is quite clear that freedom does not mean licence, it cannot encroach and should not encroach upon the freedom of others. Sacrifices will have to be made for the society as a whole. Man, while

living in society, does not ignore his selfish interests though in the larger interests he has to subordinate those interests. In fact rights imply duties and freedom for social being is limited by the interests of others. Absence of freedom makes one to consider oneself nothing more than dumb driven cattle and loses the power to think and act.

Despite this, man is in chains. One of the political thinkers *points out that the very existence of state is the negation of liberty.* Laws bind man and some of them confer no positive right. 'Keep to the left' is a traffic rule which is observed because it is a matter of convenience ; Hindu Marriage Act is the recognition of an established custom of society. These and many other laws, place curbs on activities, which do not encroach upon the freedom of others. The governments make use of emergency laws to stifle freedom. They can declare emergency whenever there is war or threat of war whereas the *latter always persists in this age of tension. Under* emergency in *India* even fundamental rights can be suspended. How can we say that governments can guard the freedom of the individuals ? The minds of the people are stuffed with the views of the party in power ; Marx correctly said that the prevailing ideas are the ideas of ruling class. When a particular philosophy is hammered into the brains, it becomes convenient for the people to adopt it and suspend their *original* thinking. Distorted news, suppressed facts and prejudiced opinions leave no scope, *for the people* at large, *to* utilise *their own power to think.* Is it possible to enjoy freedom of speech when we do not have environments to permit its proper exercise ? Otherwise also, we cannot come to a decisive view point till all the facts, in their stark nakedness, are not available to us. But no government or authority, howsoever democratic it may be, can afford to present facts in their proper perspective or context. They are to mislead the people in order to keep themselves in power. Freedom under such circumstances becomes almost meaningless, with a hollow sweet ring about it.

Even the freedom to move and associate has no real significance in democratic countries. Every ruling party has its own ideology and, unfortunately, that is considered to be the only recipe for the prevailing ills. It is no exaggeration if we say that the whole superstructure of political and social life centres round those ideologies and party which propagates, sticks to it fanatically. This is a subtle way of enlisting intellectual slaves. Opposition to these *ideologies* is

branded as treason and anti-national activity. Under such circumstances no person is allowed to have any alliance with the other camp. A capitalist in a communist country cannot be tolerated and a theocrat in a secular state is an outcaste. Evidently political affiliations have to be selective and are determined by the ideologies of the ruling party. Freedom to associate and move cannot be sans bounds. It is always limited and people are chained down to the political manifestoes, even if they are just catchy and attractive.

If we give a bit more comprehensive interpretation of Rousseau's quotation, we can say that the trammels of social decency and social laws including customs and conventions never allow man to feel free. By nature man is conservative, he cannot adapt himself to sweeping social changes. Consequently it becomes obligatory, on the part of the people, to remain within the boundary of customs. This does not mean that society remains static and the social values and habits never undergo any change. There are changes, but so slow and imperceptible that they weave themselves into the pattern of life and thinking. A revolutionary social change leaves a trail of anti-revolutionary forces; after the French revolution anti-democratic forces became too strong to subdue. So it is natural tendency of man to adopt the beaten path and respect the time honoured ways. These are the chains whose bite we do not feel but they do pin us down whenever we try to break them.

In the world of materialism material wealth is not only the determinant of social status but also the means to survive. Every one is out to adjust his scarce means with unlimited demands. Otherwise also it may be a struggle for supremacy or a struggle for survival it essentially remains a struggle. So man has to give priority to economic gains and in this process sacrifices many social obligations. His *actions become abnormal, his thinking corrupt and his interests selfish* when a person is after economic gains. The saying "for a hungry man food is God" implies that he can sacrifice everything—decency. generosity, honesty, fellow feeling etc.—for the sake of food. Galsworthy's *Skin Game* illustrates the degeneration to which man sinks while pursuing material gains. It does not mean that economic chains tie us down to this level but they so monopolise our consciousness that we do not think of anything else. If we view it from

behind the French Revolution and the man who gave the clarion call of 'Return to Nature' made this observation when he found Luis crushing the liberty of man. His concept of 'noble savage' places greater emphasis on the essential nobility of human nature. For him chains would destroy the goodness of man because his personality would not develop. There was a time when the state was looked upon as a necessary evil and its interference in non-political affairs was regarded as illegitimate. But with the spread of Hegelian and Marxian concepts even democratic states began to have incursions into the domains of private initiative and individual liberty. To day all the states shape or influence economic, social and educational policies. Individual rights and scope of individuals' creative activity are increasingly narrowed down. At one or the other stage man will regain his freedom in order to restore the lost dignity but that is possible only if man works on the constructive lines. But none can deny that "freedom is necessarily a degree of personal choice within an accepted social framework with varying orders of constraints.

"MOERNITY IS A QUESTION NOT OF TIME BUT OF OUTLOOK"

Modernity does not mean contemporariness of certain ideas, or ideals. Even the contemporary ideas might be old enough to be considered modern, their inspiration can be traced back to ideas of the past. Naturally they become quite old in their spirit. If an idea emerges out of the present circumstances even then it is not modern. In fact modernity lies in the spirit of that ideal, and means the prevailing social adjustments and also the social and political conditions available at that time, If a particular idea fits within that framework it is modern otherwise it is not. Of course, this observation involves all types of progress and the revival of the past etc.

If a person is modern in spirit he can anticipate modernity. Time changes and with the change of time the ideas also become outdated. This means as far as time is concerned modernity is somewhat short lived but the spirit of it prevails for a longer period and so

it persists till the people are able to achieve that zenith of modernity. Gandhiji's idea of moral force is suitable for the future when people become civilised and so he was in line with the course of progress, that is what we mean by modernity.

If we distinguish the world, modern, from 'ancient' we find that modern is an improvement over the ancient as far as the development of the society is concerned. The progress must be in line with the latest development of the society. The outlook of people must conform to those ideals otherwise there will be no progress in the society. If the human beings just conform to the old customs and traditions they will never be able to bring about changes which determine the growth of a nation. Customs do not signify the passage of time rather they show that how the movement of the time stops at one or the other period. Similarly, if we follow the old concepts and the old ideas we cannot change our outlook. The result is that all of our actions will be directed and controlled by our old thinking. So the spirit of the individual determines the course of events.

The word modern has two different meanings. It may mean contemporary in time; it may mean contemporary in spirit. We generally call a thing, an idea, a fashion as modern in terms of its old sense. But if we probe the problem a bit deeply and exhaustively we will find that it is our outlook which determines modernity. The outlook of man, varies with every generation. The accepted idea might have been given long ago but nobody bothers about its history. On the other hand the idea is understood or at least realized as modern. Out of two ideas suppose one of them had been given much earlier than the other but is accepted at present; will be called modern while the other will become obsolete and forgotten.

Human ideas change little; the Jews thought that aim of man should be to do the Will of God, the Greeks thought that it should be to achieve the excellence of human nature. After two thousand years we have not gone beyond these ideals. The deeper human problems remain the same; humanity changes its clothes but not its nature. No doubt with the advancement we have applied science, technology, new techniques in politics and economics human nature changes all too little. With the passage of time these ideals do not change, what changes, is our understanding, our conception and our outlook towards

them. With the increase of understanding we improve our approach to find better results. Consequently, the inferences are accepted by the present age and are called modern.

The acceptance of ideas, to a great extent, depends upon the fact that how much do they solve the problems of modern complex world. The best fitted solution is widely accepted and considered to be modern. Another consideration is the maximum utility of an idea for a great number of people. As man is becoming more intellectual, advanced and progressed, his problems are also increasing in the same proportion. His desire for new inventions and passion for new ideas are increasing rapidly. When he finds a particular idea to be unsatisfactory he forgets it and it becomes obsolete within no time. Time carries not much weight in determining the importance of an idea.

With the advancement of science, the outlook of man has undergone, a drastic change. He has no reverence for the old customs and traditions. The importance attached to a particular idea because of its adoption for a long time counts no more in accepting it as a belief. Rather the one which is in harmony with the outlook is considered modern.

TIME PAST AND TIME FUTURE; WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN AND WHAT HAS BEEN; POINT TO ONE END, WHICH IS ALWAYS PRESENT

The past is the root of the present whereas the present is the seed of the future; the pastness of the past has its present too. If present is the culmination of the past, it is also the take-off stage for the future. Obviously all the three have an organic relation whether we take them from the point of view of human life, Nature or human institutions. Human life, during its evolutionary course, leaves behind a trail, a beaten path, a tradition or the tradition, which crystalises itself into the culture of that nation. Otherwise also the abortive efforts of the past make the persons wiser, experienced and better equipped for action; the successful adventures inspire us to do our

work enthusiastically. Similarly Nature, as it is, has retained much of ancient character though it had been evolving all through. Nature, in no case, can be considered something amorphous, transient and for the present only. Similarly human institutions of the past and the future have a close relation with the present. For example, religion, which had been dominating not only the life but also the thinking of the people in the past has been reduced to the level of a private affair. There is a possibility that religious outlook, with a greater emphasis on moral virtues, may assume a greater significance. Religion, some think, alone can solve the problems of the world. S. Radhakrishnan once said, "Irreligion is our malady, religion is only cure." The past, the present and the future cannot be studied in a state of isolation.

Some may think that the past and the future have no relevance because one cannot be recalled and the other cannot be correctly anticipated. But it is wrong. The culture of a nation, which is the accumulated wisdom, the resultant of the forces of social change constitute the pedestal on which the glory of a nation stands. Without cultural heritage there is no place in the community of nations, no line of thinking and no course of progress. The present is a parasite on the past, it has identity and individuality but dependent on the past. The world is evolving international culture, in which national cultures will pool their resources and every national culture will be modified and changed according to the latest developments. That is why, once, Mr. Nehru said, "we must break with much of our past and should not allow it to dominate the present." The past that becomes a monument of memory only, the past that adorns the historical records, is irrelevant for the present. Culture is absorbed by us, during a natural course of thinking and living; the past that can be of any use in the present is unconsciously adopted by us. Evidently the heritage of the past is meant for building up the present. Traditionalists, like Eliot, in literature also recommend the present of the past.

Some religious 'pundits attach undue significance to future. The protagonists of such religions, say that the earthly life should be a preparation for a better future. They want to make sacrifices in the present to ensure a better life after death. Salvation and a life free

from the cycle of birth and death are the promised gains for sacrifice ing the present. The rosy future tempts the people to undergo penance and physical tortures. This does not mean that future is not pointing to the present. People may be enchanted by the halo that surrounds those ideas ; future is to be judged in the light of the present and we can prepare for it only in the present.

Modern age is marked by the utilitarian outlook ; everything is measured in terms of material gain. We neither talk of "art for the sake of art" nor think for the work for the sake of work. Every act is tagged with [illegible] why man's thinking is limited to [illegible] love and many other finer [illegible] of immediate gain. Evidently future, to a person with such an attitude, is a world of dreams—uncertain, vague and unborn. Its relevance in the *present context* of circumstances—how much investment in *terms of labour*, money etc., is to be made in the present—is of greater *significance*. Simple *living* in the future—transporting one-self *imaginatively* in the ethereal regions of the future, or in the past, the dead and gone past is of no avail. Passing our days in the present with the hope to be blessed in the future or with the *consolation* to have a glorious past is like "feeding on an idle portraiture" or moving on the stilts of aery fancy. The past owes its fame to the present, and *future* submits to the leather thong of the present, which deals with *living* and breathing realities.

The present helps us to realise our ambitions, satisfy our ego. Man craves for recognition and his good and commendable work can win laurels for him immediately. *Those, who cater* to the demands of the present, prove their mettle *because idealists*, working for the future never get immediate praise. That is why genius is never respected in society ; Copernicus was burnt *alive*, Socrates was compelled to take poison, Gandhiji was *shot* dead. A common man cannot raise the stature of his mind to the level of one, who thinks of the future work in the present.

The sub-conscious and the *unconscious* mind of man serves the urgent claims of the present. The *memories* and dreams form such an amalgam that it is difficult to disengage them. But they are

always dictated and conditioned by the present. The immediate environment, pressing hard on the mind of a person, can never allow the withered, though treasured up, memories of the past to assert themselves. They become subordinate to our passion for the present.

The past provides experience and the future ideals. Essentially the human nature remains the same so the wisdom that filters through the experience of the past can help us to tackle the situations in the present. Situations are also the same, history repeats itself though with minor changes. The trials, the efforts, the failures, the triumphs of the past can easily and profitably be used for the present day. So is the case with the ideals which future inspires. We work for those ideals in the present though they may yield results only in the remote future.

The past is judged by the present and the future is conceived in the present. We may boast of our glorious past but those will be reminiscences and they may generate either frustration or inactivity. It is the present mirth and present laughter (there is nothing here and after) are the touchstones of our success. People, around us, cannot be transported into the visions of the past because their senses are more powerful than their imagination. Similarly whatever we lack today, whatever is missing in our life appear in ideals. Man may follow knowledge like a sinking star but everything based upon the situations available in the present. The havoc wrought by the World War I gave birth to the League of Nations because its urgency was felt by the experiences of those times. Second World War brought greater disaster and so a bit stronger world organisation U.N.O., was brought into being.

The past, the present and future constitute [illegible] of life; [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] behind [illegible] Till the challenges are accepted and overcome, the shadow cannot be recognised and the glare will be meaningless. The past survives for the present and the future is conceived for today. Achievements and

failures of the past are carried on to the present, which in itself serves the basis of future.

"DRAMA HOLDS A MIRROR TO LIFE"

Life consists of human activity, the highest object of which is man. Art and literature are the branches of knowledge, inseparable from life. In those we can discern a deep and lasting human significance. Literature, drama being a part of it, grows directly out of life and brings us into large, close and fresh relations with life. Greater the association the more will be the worth of that literature. It is a sort of vital record of what they have thought and felt about those aspects of it which have the most immediate and enduring interest for all of us. It is this fundamental expression of life through the medium of language. This expression is further moulded into various literary forms, and drama being the very imitation of life with an occasional modification has a significant association. It is life itself, so to say, as the reflection that it yields is fundamentally true to the everyday life about us. The unending accuracy of a mirror can be taken as reality and drama which reflects the great drama of life itself and action, offers us a true sight of life, true and mirror, like. The colouring of imagination that the artist introduces takes its shades from the very life itself. Our interest in people, their doings and also in our world finds expression in that which recaptures this urge and present it as it is. The self-expression of the dramatist includes a great deal of our own thoughts and feelings which are again akin to life, so he is not a different character. "The personality of the dramatist is merged in the depiction of life, and the mirror" says Hudson, "which the artist holds upto the world about him, is of necessity the mirror of his own personality". It may mean the instinct of originality but this originality implies genius not newness. The origin of drama has its ingredients in mimicry, a natural instinct of man. Man tries to enter vividly into the situation, sentiments and progress of others and puts on a semblance to them in his gestures. A child has a great tendency to represent whatever he has seen in his elders or around him and whatever strikes his fancy or whatever he

can imagine. Similarly the dramatist has to indulge in the same practices ; the field extending from the whole life of universe to a capacity to deposit whatever he chose. Generally the dramatist has to separate parts of social life, and to present them to itself again in one collectiveness The central point is life of man.

In the drama we see man measuring his powers with others as intellectuals and moral beings, either friends or foes, influencing each other for the true enjoyment of life, may be the life itself consists of actions. The actions that the dramatist presents are sometimes the renovated pictures of life. Here no narration is required to fill the gaps of conversation, rather the living individuals accompanied by appropriate action and gesture and placed in apt circumstances, are to act and speak for life. This act the dramatist presents to us. They are to have their assumed ranks in life, age and country locality from which they are all drawn.

The springboard for drama was religion and through religion it penetrated deep into life. It is, to say that in the gardenland of religion the sources of dramatic art welled up, dividing into many streams, which widen as they run along, traverse the provinces of life. Many new brooks flowing from other springs, fall into the main stream and swell its current. Firstly, it might have taken the Divine life as its subjects as we find in the dialogues of divine forms in Rig Vedas. Similar is the case with the Greek, Roman and English dramas. The growth of drama is so obvious and natural that in most of the civilized countries of antiquity, the art had been imitated and so great has been the skill that the romantic drama of a very high order like "Shakuntala" could have a lasting effect. How very delightful and romantic in its native climate and yet how very much in tune with our day to day life it was ! The modernists' psychological approach to life has its seeds in this great creation. The events and incidents there, can be compared to our day to day life even of the twentieth century. Not to talk of that, it is pointed out that even amongst the islands of the south-land which in every mortal qualification and acquirement are rude dramas a common incident of life was imitated for the sake of diversion. Thus we notice that with the advent of civilization, drama with the actual life as its model. holds a first place and has developed its scope.

There is another aspect of the question too. Drama as well as literature brings us face to face with the subtle realities of life. We can feel the hold of virtue and vice on life, realize where the shoe pinches, and thus have scope for amendment. The mirror like view that it yields cannot be misguiding in its accuracy of the realities of life, though the approach may have the licence to advance or reduce their bulk. The drama is to be generally moral in its tone and its voice, and not leave behind any suggestion that wickedness escapes teaching. It is to create the impression of the triumph of virtue over vice. Instances may be picked from even the Shakespearean plays where Cordelia might suffer for her virtues but the fact remains that these inconsistencies are a part of life itself. Anyway the point of emphasis is that by bringing before us the virtues and vices of our day to day life, the picture of ours as we are and various aspects of ours or other routine, drama makes us conscious of what life is, where man stands and how the whole thing looks like. It might prepare us for reaction and it is of secondary importance and to take its teaching is our option but it does hold a mirror of life.

In this respect let us look into the growth of English drama in a passing manner to assert our point. The subject of the Miracle plays of the 12th Century, were taken from the legends of the saints and acts ascribed to them, while the Mystry plays had scriptures for their subjects. Their teaching was of a religious nature. The morality plays, later, actually personified virtue and vices, and though they were not as true to life as were the Interlude in the Revived Era of learning, yet their influence was meant to throw a heavenly light on life. Now the public which showed an interest towards historical studies sought in its drama the treatment of actual human life and affairs. The characters in the Interludes were real men and women, even of English life of the day and these served some purpose, if not of a serious nature. Pageants, Masques and Pantomimes were later sources of delight through drama, whatever their nature may be, they echoed those aspects of life, which were amusing and light in their own way.

A similar kinship with them can be traced in two great branches of drama, that is Classical and Romantic ; Classical drama dealt with the great legends of a remote mythological age, say of Greek or Roman Mythology. Its character was above the ordinary humanity and experience. Here the scope was enhanced and limited

to a sort of definition of life. No attempt to mirror ordinary life, or to reproduce common human nature was ever permitted. So was the case with the Neo-classic concept of drama. The extraordinary coherence and heightened imagination brought about the Romantic drama in the Elizabethan age and the intermingling of so many lively plots, freedom in respect of time place and action, religion reflected variety and complexity of actual life for our delight.

The various directions of dramas may also be referred to in support of our contention. The events and incidents in a tragedy really hold a mirror to life, the appeal to the sense of sympathy fills the mind with pity and terror. The chief aims of tragedy are to affect the feeling and to have a profound effect on the mind. The ruin of the principal character the predominating influence of Fate intense situation all remind us of the subtle realities of life around us. On the other hand, the happy ending of a comedy and the heroe's triumph over difficulties and Poetic justice teach us delightfully. Same is the case with other kinds of comedies including the tragicomedy. The historical plays can also be associated with this human kinship. On the whole drama (Theatre) as pointed out by Schelgel, statesman-generals holding the great event of past times similar to those in which they themselves are called upon to act, lays open their inmost springs and motives. Here too the [illegible] for profoundest reflection on the nature and [illegible] the groups which pass rapidly before [illegible] fancy the outline of every future picture, and the susceptible youth opens his heart to every elevating feelings, age becomes young again in recollections, even child sits with anxious expectations before the grand curtain.

This estimate portrays the influence of drama on life whatever the form of drama may be the dramatic circumstances in our daily [illegible] theatre and it can be remarked that the [illegible] of life. Drama has a nec[illegible] the force and fidelity of the images rather than upon any [illegible]idual agency. This image of life as a whole has a lasting influence for every taste in the society.

With the pageant of life as its eventual subject, drama which is a well made nature of today has a tendency towards naturalism which is all the more true to life. This progressive movement has an all round development in social, intellectual and critical fields, but its most universal quality has been a life-like character. It has been the endeavour of the dramatist and the man of theatre to present the outward semblance of life as closely as possible. It is a definite form of art like naturalism in painting and not like that of the photographic act. It never was photographic. The imaginative colouring of Shakespeare of the plays is strictly in the order of painting though the subject was from life. Naturalism is indeed a form of style and gives impetus to the form wanting style." The dramatist says Ashley Dukes, "Who takes pen in hand to portray everyday life in everyday speech must be a writer, a writer in the ten thousand if he is altogether to avoid the rut of ordinary expression. The dramatist is to seek the help of style, if he has to make his individual idiom more homely and if he is to clothe the apparent reality in a proper manner."

The personal experience specially that of the writer is predominating in a drama. In ordinary intercourse men, for fear of mistrust or indifference from allowing others to look into what passes within them, exhibit only the outward man to each other, but the dramatist breaking through the conventional barriers, gives intensity to his feelings of the heart. This new tendency had its influence on the English drama in the days when Renaissance had touched it. This unmistakable element of personal character was full of vigour and strength of life.

Continually we catch the echoes of the doubts and fears and hopes that fill the spirit of man in his quest, not of the Gods indeed, or of the riddle of Sphinx, but of himself. The royal figure of Lear, undergoing the sufferings of the tragic destiny has a nature common to ours and as much sensitive also, the dramatist being one of us, the common fellowman, is not to present the inner recesses of his characters' personality, the parables of which may easily be heard in his or our nature. The artist, says Plato, produces not reality but something less than that ; though he created something lesser

than reality, he also creates something more than reality. He gives us his intention according to this standpoint. This kinship does not exist anyhow or the other. The listener to drama, it is held, needs absolutely neither learning nor cultivation, but a pair of eyes and a heart. This also reflects upon the relation that drama has with life.

The function of the dramatist as pointed out by critics is also practicable. To him subject is all important from every stand point. As he stands in close proximity to real life, and endeavours to enclose his own imaginary creations with vitality—he must decidedly take part with one or another of leading views of human life, and constrain his audience also to participate in the same feeling. This is the keynote of the dramatist's art. So also the function of drama insists in its being acted and what is missed by the dramatist, is to be compensated by the actor. So in this way drama becomes self-contained, a complete picture of life as it is, rather a mirror to life.

Firstly, a mirror in the sense that it presents a view of life and secondly in a metaphorical sense as something presenting us a realisation of what life actually is. It is in the latter sense that we take the imaginative side of the dramatists' mind and views. So we feel that drama holds a mirror to life in every sense of the word.

"DEMOCRACY SUBSTITUTES ELECTIONS BY THE INCOMPETENT MANY FOR THE CORRUPT FEW"

(*Shaw*)

The 18th century poet, Alexander Pope correctly said, "For forms of government let fools contest, whichever administered best is best". If dictatorship is the tyranny of one, aristocracy is the exploitation of the many and democracy is the cult of incompetence. A dictator is generally an efficient administrator whereas ministers, are inexperienced so bad administrators. Man has always been experimenting with political or social institutions with the hope to discover a perfect one. Democracy is the latest trial of man and may prove to be a failure. It is based upon many assumptions— people are adept in the art of governing themselves, they are basically good to make sacrifices, they are wise enough to know their rights and duties, their judgements are infallible. In indirect or representative democracy the voters are to elect their representatives by casting their votes. Majority opinion cannot be wrong because it is for the welfare of the largest number; greatest happiness of the greatest number is what democracy aims at. The only qualification which a voter is supposed to possess is the attainment of a particular age i.e., when man possesses the power to hold independent opinion and has the capacity to discriminate and judge. Democracy is the ruling ideal of the day. But as Renan says, "Institutions are destroyed by their triumphs".

In the case of aristocracy, dictatorship or monarchy, a few are the makers of the government. They have only self-interest in mind; common man for them is born to be ruled. These select few are corrupt in the sense that they can manage the affairs to their advantage, they can outwit others for coming to power, they can crush those who rise against them. In some cases they inculcate certain unbounded ambitions and for realising them they mobilise all the resources. Democracy substitutes the appointment of the government by the few with elections by many, who are, Shaw thinks, incompetent. It is half truth.

An electorate in a democratic state must be an adult with normal senses to exercise his right to vote. This qualification places too much premium on the rationality of a common man and also on

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An electorate in a democratic state must be an adult with normal senses to exercise his right to vote. This qualification places too much premium on the rationality of a common man and also on

mind have always finished correct judgement. According to Tocqueville, "It is always more or less impossible for the people to discern the best means of attaining the end which they desire with sincerity. The people have neither the time nor the means which are essential to the prosecution of an investigation of this kind, its conclusions are hastily formed from a superficial inspection of the more prominent features of a question". In fact people examine the question from many angles, involving so many interests, so the judgement is never sound. Otherwise also opinions of the people are composed of a series of partial truths and we cannot get at whole truth by adding all opinions numerically. According to Plato, only the best ruler can put these partial versions together but in democracy there is no method to evolve it. The majority is swayed by the passions of the moment - masses obey the "impulse of passion rather than the suggestions of prudence and abandon a natural design for the gratification of a momentary caprice". Clearly the electorate are incompetent to make judicious judgement.

The majority of the voters are incompetent to exercise their right to cast vote. Customs of the society, experience of the nation through ages, religious associations and many other factors may hamper the exercise of rights. If religion has a firmer hold upon the mind of the people, they will be guided by the religious considerations. If history has taught them to elect a particular party they may be prejudiced in its favour. The success of a political party does not so much lie in the implementation of promises but in dazzling the people with manifestoes, in keeping them in a state of ignorance through effective propaganda. Communists correctly think that political liberty without economic equality is meaningless. A poor man's vote can be bought; he can be lured and can be influenced by propaganda. Democracy is a farce in a poor country. Regionalism, sectional interests, linguistic groupism and provincialism make the voters incompetent electors.

Democracy places power in the hands of the common people to manage the affairs of the state. The psychologists regard an average man as a person possessing below average intelligence. In the U.S. the army conducted mental tests which indicated that 60% of the people are of average or below average intelligence. Under democracy people are supposed to understand and manage complex problems. They cannot understand the diplomatic moves, the subtle

suggestions. That is why Lecky denounced democracy as the rule of ignorance and negation of liberty.

This is how Shaw would like to substantiate his point of view. But we should not forget that he is an idol-breaker and throws conservative beliefs in the winds. There is some truth in his statements but not the complete truth. People have shown remarkable capacity to pronounce judgements. Aristotle, with all his wisdom, believed that the aggregate virtue and *ability of the masses* was greater than the virtue and ability of a part of the population. If the mass of the people do not understand they have sound common sense of appointing good administrators and legislators and of checking misbehaviour of the later. The people may not be able to decide complicated problems confronting the State but they have enough maturity to give the broad directions. Bryce who has been one of the most impartial and intelligent exponents of democracy says, that people do not rule but determine the policy. Public opinion is the safeguard for democracy enjoyed by no other form of government. The growth of democracy in the world is evident from the growth of the system of initiative, referendum, recall and direct elections. Both, the gifts to the individual and demands on him, are greater than those of another form of government.

Democracy as a government by the people should not be looked upon as a government by the ignorant people. Democracy itself is the biggest training ground for the citizens which makes them matured, self-confident, responsible and public spirited. As J.S. Mill said there is no better education than to be a citizen in a democratic state and participating in the democratic processes. Monarchy or aristocracy may be more efficient than democracy but the edifice built by them lasts so long as those, who are in power, are able to wield authority. The moment that hand becomes weak, the whole edifice falls like a house of cards. The reason being that monarchy or aristocracy rest on individuals or groups, continued availability of whi[illegible] matter of chance. The people in these two *forms of gov*[illegible] un-concerned and, therefore, the moral aspect of [illegible] vidual is never developed. It is only under [illegible] people are able to provide st[illegible]ty and perma[illegible] tutions. The British and t[illegible] *histori*[illegible] of the soundness of govern[illegible] *tions*

pation of the people. The greatest virtues of democracy lie in the fact that it is a self-government. The people know their own problems better than their rulers and therefore, they can solve them better. themselves, than by those who are not from amongst them.

"DOST THOU THINK BECAUSE THOU ART VIRTUOUS THERE SHALL BE NO MORE CAKES AND ALE"

Virtue is, to all practical purposes, if it does not sound like the Devil's Littany is self-imposed punishment. Since Adam's days temptation has been more charming to man because man is nothing more than a bundle of weaknesses. Marlowe's Dr. Faustus succumbed to the temptation of enjoying godly powers upon earth and signed a bond with Lucifer, the devil, to barter away his soul. Though he was repeatedly counselled by his virtuous or Christian self to repent and appeal to God for reprieve yet the glamour of the life of pleasure blinded him. He repented but too late and the devil vanished with his soul. Opposite is the case of the bishop in T. S. Eliot's '*Murder in Cathedral*'; Tempters could not tempt him away from martyrdom. But latter is not the normal behaviour of man. Virtue demands us to conquer temptation and passions even the reality is distorted and facts are ignored. It starts a process of auto-intoxication, brews quietly up within its own bowels that curious and appalling feeling called hatred for pleasure. Pleasure serves as a distraction from the bondage of life, from the life of an official condemned to remain glued with the chair and table till, in the words of Charles Lamb "Wood enters into his soul". Russell in his Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech said, ".... experience shows that escape from boredom is one of the really powerful desires of almost all human beings. When white men first effect contract with some unspoiled race of savages, they offer them all kinds of benefits from the light of the gospel to pumpkin pie. These, however, much as we regret it, most savages receive with indifference. What they really value among gifts that we bring to them is intoxicating liquor which enables them for the first time in their lives to have the illusion for a few brief moments..."

Evidently the philosopher wants to prove that 'cakes and ale' are instinctively demanded by all whether the virtuous relish it or not.

If we place the quotation in its context, we come to know that Sir Toby is snubbing, in a satirical vein, Malvolio, in Shakespeare's comedy '*Twelfth Night*'. Some critics hold that Malvolio represents Puritans, who advocated dislike for all pleasures. J.B. Priestley, wellknown critic, says that Sir Toby's remark—"Dost thou think . . . there shall be no more cakes and ale"—is an unsurpassed retort to all kill joys. He adds, Sir Toby with his rough philosophy, a tap-room epicureanism, lives drinking health, burning sacks, singing catches, baiting fools and enjoying a multitude of things like pickled herrings. He thinks that "with mirth and laughter let old wrinkles come" and would like to drink till there is a passage in his throat and wine in Illyria. Though Sir Toby goes to the extreme, yet we should not take life as an invalid takes his food that is with a sense of duty. All disenchantment is a malady and which nonetheless, when it occurs, is to be cured. A seventeenth century critic of Puritanism says—

> Would you enjoy gay nights and pleasant dinners ?
> Then must you board with saints and bed with sinners.

Clearly the Puritans did not succeed in subduing the pleasure-seeking nature of man. Gluttony is regarded by the Catholic Church as one of the seven deadly sins, and those who practise it are placed by Dante in one of the deeper circles of hell, but it is somewhat vague sin, since it is hard to say where a legitimate interest in food ceases and guilt begins to be incurred. Is it wicked to eat anything that is not nourishing ? It so, with every salted almond we risk damnation.

Virtue, they say, is its own reward. I think the saying is a bit ironical ; virtue gets no other reward—the virtuous are branded as fools, who spoil their present with the hope to make their next life better. To ignore the realities for living in a world of dreamy visions is the consolation of a defeated person. In this age of diplomacy virtue has to pay homage to sin otherwise the nation fails to make mark in international relations. If sins are not presented as virtues, the nations lose their prestige ; Non-proliferation treaty seems to be the goodness of the big powers though they have an armful of atoms. Similarly recent invasion of Cyprus by the Greeks and Turks will be presented as sincere effort to salvage the country. Vietnam is annihilated in the name of the freedom of the country. India has been extending the hand of friendship to every nation, with a sincere desire

to make the world situation better, the result of our virtuous behaviour s that China duped us, Pakistan invaded us, and the U.S. threatened us. In this age no diplomat can succeed till he distorts the facts to suit them to country's advantage till he is a hypocrite of the first water. When the sinners are the masters, when success is the only touchstone of effort how can we think that people will not take to a sinful life. A Gandhi may colour his actions and thinking with morality, a Lincoln may champion the cause of slaves but society never tolerated them for a long time. Nixon's disrespect for morality, Bhutto's opportunisms are extreme forms of the common man's weakness to love sinful life. Even the repeated more lessons cannot change the man's outlook.

There have been churches and moralists from times immemorial and they have all the time been preaching morality. Have they been able to create moral atmosphere and change every one into a virtuous Christian ? Till all are virtuous—though it is a moral utopia—it is impossible for a single virtuous person to enjoy proper status. It is not a duty to give up the pleasures of life rather it is one's mental attitude, which is more a product of environmental effects and social milieu in which he is brought up. If the social conditions are not conducive to the growth of moral outlook, imposition of morality generates a rebellious spirit. Emancipation from the church, Reformation and Counter-Reformation have been irrelevant had people accepted the moral way of life.

"To do the best for yourself, is finally to do the best for others" is the view of the modern economist. Plato in the closing dialogues of "*Critias*" may hold if only common love and virtue increased wealth and possessions increase automatically. Similarly for Christ and many others, Godess of Getting-on is a forbidden deity. But, if an industrialist cares more for virtue than for money, more for his workers than for his profits—utilitarians may think—he will never succeed. For the proper growth Capitalists' economy exploitation should be the presiding deity of the industrialist. Can we justify exploitation on any moral ground ? The rich grow richer, roll in luxury, seek every type of pleasure including tyrannising others whereas the real workers who spill their blood for the flourishing of industry, gets meals once a day and pleasures for him, are illusive like the mirage in the deserts. Communism wanted to end exploitation, discipline the savagery of the capitalists but, in its turn, gave rise to another type of exploitation. Freedom of speech was stifled ;

those who differ with the policy of the ruling class are hunted down. Where lies the ethics, which they profess to uphold? Ethical principles are prostituted for personal ideologies, and mere propagatoin of these ideals may prejudice the mind for some time. If there is no force of coercion, behind their profession of morality, there can be no acceptance of it. It is not a secret that, despite the massive propaganda which is carried, all, in the Communist countries, have not given up exploitation. So is the case with war. It brings destruction, savagery and many other social evils. Still many have justified war mongering; Nietsche said, "Man shall be trained for war, and woman for the recreation of the warrior; all else is folly", Ruskin held that great nations were "born in war and expired in peace"; "war", Bernhardi said "is one of the essential factors of morality". Religious wars were patronised by the Church and the priests; the dispensers and guardians of morality could easily distort their concept to suit their needs. People, in reality, make a virtue of necessity. There can be innumerable persons, who find nothing good in avoiding war or in adopting virtuous course of action. Morality is observed more in breach than in its observance. Even the moral philosopher like Radhakrishnan admits, that the empirical world is "subject to human stupidity and selfishness."

Aristotle taught us long ago that we must live and live well. We must eat, get shelter and clothes before we can paint, write or speculate. Marx developed this distinction between life and good life into a theory; human beings must have food, drink, clothing and shelter before they can interest themselves in politics, art or religion. Evidently productive forces are a primary factor, conditioning all others. This means 'cakes and ale' constitute the basic necessities of life and one who abstains from them is leading an abnormal life of an ascetic. People, if left to themselves, will never emulate the virtuous; Shaw has succinctly said, "obedience stimulates subordination as fear of police stimulates honesty". saintliness is artificial whereas sinning is attractive, charming and life-like.

Bernard Shaw, through one of his characters in *Man and Superman* has given fine expression to the fact that vice is a recreation for those who are tired of being virtuous and virtue is a cloak which is worn to keep up appearances. Virtuous cannot efface vices and vicious cannot obliterate virtues. The character says that man gets tired of everything, of heaven no less than of hell and that all history is nothing but a record of the oscillation of the world between these extremes. An epoch is but a swing of the pendulum; and every

swing from heaven to hell is emancipation and every swing from hell to heaven an evolution. So called reforms, progress and continual ascent are nothing but "infinite comedy of illusion". In fact none can help saying that the virtuous are vain because they are virtuous and the vicious are bold and audacious because they are vicious. Virtue and vice represent nothing but vanity—there is nothing new under the sun and only *vanitas, vanitatum.*

"IRRELIGION IS OUR MALADY, RELIGION, THE ONLY CURE

[Radhakrishanan]

Religion, as bundle of myths and miracles, doctrines and beliefs has become outdated. The miracles and mysteries of magic and religion have yielded place to new ones of science. Belief is no longer a matter of faith, it is based on reason; intellectual faith has replaced emotional attachment. *"Unless religion sheds its primitive cosmology, myths and miracles, it is likely to go down into the limbs of oblivion"* **[E. Hubbard]**. Like all human institutions religion, during the course of time, had become too formal to serve any purpose. So it produced a reign of superstition, tyranny and barbarism. None can deny that *"religion is the best armour in the world but the worst cloak"* **[John Newton]**. Our world is strewn with the wreckage of many a venerable traditions built by unnumbered generations. Religion is like a modern Ozymandias battered by scientific knowledge and hollowed by its own weaknesses. Today it stands humbled amidst these ruins; it is an outcast a refugee in our civilisation. The Christian Europe has built an unchristian civilisation; in China and India it has lost its former hold and Pakistan considers Islam a lever to register political backing within and without. Religion has been condemned, criticised challenged and ridiculed by anybody and everybody. Marx considered it the opiate of the masses; Russell regarded it as a disease born of fear and a cause of untold misery to the human race. Some psychologists have explained away its value as a beneficial psychosis.

It is only the perverted version of religion that has stunted manhood and deformed spiritual growth. It supported bigotry, lent its authority to the oppressors and sanctified many pretences. It weakened man's social conscience and moral sensitivity. It egendered fatalism, intolerance and narrow mindedness; it fostered conceit, hatred and fear. It, undoubtedly played a shabby irreligious role. This was not true religion. "*True religion,*" says the German writer **Goethe** "*teaches us to reverence what is under us, to recognise humanity, poverty, suffering and death as things divine.*" That is why man tried to break with religion; he extolled science and glorified materialism. But man needs anchorage in life; otherwise it becomes a meaningless drift. It did not take much time for man to realise that by divorcing religion he has lost the mooring in life. Man, despite the surfeit of ideas and ideologies which generate enough heat but no light, suffers from the sickness of the spirit. They have lost the sense of purpose and direction and there is nothing to elevate their sense of suffering and sin. "*Man is still grouping for a more meaningful and synthetic view of life and human destiny*", says **Radhakrishnan.** Unbelief is impossible for man and a modern man needs faith—a living faith, a new faith which may give spiritual happiness.

Religion does not come in clash with science. Science is a method and a set of explanations based upon proofs; religion is an experience, an adventure of the spirit based upon spiritual illumination. Science takes up the second cause but religion the first cause. We should not forget that scientific investigation affirms to strengthen faith, it kindles our sense of mystery and wonder. The deep sense and wonder which filled the heart of man when he first saw the glorious sunrise is, in now way, different from the one looking through the lenses of telescope myriads of rolling spheres in the universe. "*Man's highest happiness*", says **Goethe** "*is to have fathomed and to bow in reverence before the unfathomable*". Scientific researches can perform this dual function—these can fathom the unfathomable. But this is a continuous process to discover the unfathomable. Tennyson's Ulysses correctly says, "Experience is an arch where through gleams the untravelled world". Max Planck has acknowledged that even the scientists have to wait for the "spark from heaven". If we subject everything to reason, religion will have nothing mysterious; if we violate the principles of reason our relgion will be absurd and *ridi-*

culous. *"Science cultivated to the utter neglect of religion would produce a reign of impiety and sensuality"*. **[G.W. Shields]**. It is quite strange that the man in the street is losing faith whereas the man in the laboratory is gaining.

Our world is torn with rivalries ; people belonging to different cultural patterns and racial groups are facing one another in hostile postures. We talk of nations living together but mere talks will not go a long way. The international forums of discussion have become forums of rivalries. International ethics based on agnostic positivism or ethical humanism will not do. Religion as a binding force is necessary for a world made one by the developments of science. Moreover there is a sense of insecurity ; we fear our neighbours we fear our friends. The inner defences of man have cracked. He has lost his independence and self assurance ; the civilising process has reduced this God-man to the state of a suckling, cotton-wool baby sterilised and vitaminised. There is an acting sense of loneliness and unrelatedness. He must realise that he is macrosom and microsom Science, technology, political, and economic security cannot retrieve his lost confidence. Man must become aware of his own divinity. His sense of insecurity anxiety and unrest would vanish if he comprehends the ultimate goal of life. Religion has the capacity to steel the soul of man.

Violence has disfigured the face of the civilized man. People fight for ideologies they fight for supremacy. But war is an organised violence and often breeds violence. Religion and spirituality serve as antidote to violence. We are living at the sub-human levels of aggressiveness, anger and intolerance. When the human beings perceive that they belong to an order of reality higher than brute nature, they will abjure violence.

Man is supposed to work for society though he is unaware of social purpose. The modern states demand obedience from its subjects and conformity with mass opinion. Man has been transformed into a herdsman. These mechanical methods cannot make man conscious of his social obligations ; the willing cooperation of the individual is needed. Religion can generate and strengthen the spirit of social purpose. Progress of man lies in enlarging human sympathies and outlook. Man's inner self must be illuminated to colour

AIM AND PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

Though everybody-now-a-days seems to know the X Y Z of everything nobody knows the a b c of anything.

(Bernard Shaw)

"Reading maketh a full man ; canference a ready man and writing an exact man", says Bacon. Reading for drawing out and cultivating excellence must be purposive, conscious, probing, provoking and stimulating. Similarly 'conference' should be with those who can be intellectual enough to enlighten, elucidate and examine the view point. Writing without a sincere effort will frustrate its purpose. Reading, writing and conference are not isolated activities ; they constitute the shades of the total impression which can be called education. Stripped of its ideological and academic trappings, education is quite expansive and embracive though its purpose basically remains the same. According to Mannheim education means the "*fostering of the free development of the personality through the unhampered unfolding of innate qualities*". It helps in the flowering of the creative potentiality, in bringing out the inherent faculty of man. It means the awakening of intelligence and the fostering of an integrated life, without realising this purpose young men become entities that cannot fit in the structure of society. "*Education has many tasks*", says Livingstone "*training the intelligence, widening the mind and enlarging its interests, and teaching the technique on which modern civilisation is based*".

Clearly education demands that there should be discipline of reason and discipline of emotions. A person who is guided by emotions and not by reason is nothing more than an animal whereas purely rational person is nothing less than a thinking machine. The judgements of the emotional person will not be balanced and a rational person may distort reason in order to suit his personal likings. Without discipline of reason and emotions the personality of the person cannot be properly co-ordinated. Mahatma Gandhi

forgotten element of human nature, that is character. If people do not possess intellectual qualities, wisdom, intelligence, judgement and foresight it is not possible for them to make their country a great success. Man is the real problem, the old and the modern problem. In fact humanity changes its clothes but not its nature that is why till education does not cultivate character it becomes purposeless. According to Ruskin "Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know. It means teaching them to behave as they do not behave". The future civilisation depends upon the improvement of human character and conduct and we should devote our energies to the construction of human nature before we make critical machinery. Bolshevism and Nazism are sometimes called new religions. Proper type of education would have definitely done a good service in breaking this superstition about these religions. No doubt, Russell in one of his essays *"Functions to a teacher"* points-out that a teacher must try and give unbiased ideas to the pupils and should not become a tool in the hands of the politicians. But Livingstone thinks that the primary purpose of education is to improve character. For Plato education is the basis of the State but the ultimate aim and essence of education is the training of character to be achieved by the discipline of the body, will and the intelligence. For training the human character various steps will have to be taken, though to this suggestion, three objections will be made. One of the objections is that some time the character may be trained in a wrong manner as was the case with Hitler. In reality we are just like the man in Mark Twain's story who spends sixteen years in jail and then opened the door which had been unlocked all the time and walked out. We are fettered in the prison of human nature though we can walk out of it if we managed properly. Another objection is that moulding of character is a dangerous operation. The attitude of this type of critic is like the servants in the Parable of the Talents. It is not possible to educate a child without conforming its mind to social needs. Similarly those who say that it is an immense problem are wrong because once it is tackled, it will not seem to be colossal. None can deny that political problem is a question of human nature rather than of organisation. Hence we need some type of re-education. So none can deny that one of the functions of education is to train [illegible]ter and [training of character demands that there should be [illegible]raining also alongwith it. In some of the countries the schemes [illegible] of character have been given a subordinate place and [illegible]'s words as the slogan of our future action—

goes a step further when he says that there should be the education of intellect, spirit and body. By this he simply means that there should be an integrated development of the whole personality of man. In orther words without the development of all aspects of personality the attitude of the individual will not be conducive to the welfare of the society and will not be able to adjust the individual within the *framework of democracy. Clearly enough one of the important* tasks of education is to produce men integrated with their environments. In fact our moral and creative nature is a unique non-recurring fact and education provided the individual with the language of culture through which he explores himself and the world. In society man's life is governed by the complex pattern of thinking, feeling and action, called a *tradition.* A tradition is accumulated social experience expressed in the from of choices and education gave the awareness of the tradition. White-Head has pointed out that life is rhythmic and the purpose of education is to adjust the rhythm of life and each individual with the rhythm of society. It may be Hegel's rhythm of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis or White-Head's rhythm of romance and justification. Education makes us aware of the drift in things.

According to Aristotle aim of education is to pass on knowledge as a "fixed and unilateral conditions of the soul". It must train him in the technique of isolating the creative form. Education may not provide any clear cut principles for guidance but it may give us a sort of moral armour and also a sort of intellectual armoury. While living in society it is necessary that the man should definitely try to adjust himself with the social code. Socially maladjusted people create certain problems for the society as well as for the members of the society. So even Plato pointed out, long ago, "Types of Governments correspond to the types of human nature. States are not made from rocks and trees but from the characters of their citizens which turn the scale and draw everything after them." None can deny that the evils of the world generally originate from the bad political machinery and will not be cured till human character is improved. According to Livingstone "fundamentally the political problem is a problem of human character". The struggles, agonies, passions and uncertainties of the time disappear if the character of the people is very high. Similarly there are many determining factors like geography, geology, climate, economic conditions, scientific discoveries in the history of a nation but above all there is, often

forgotten element of human nature, that is character. If people do not possess intellectual qualities, wisdom, intelligence, judgement and foresight it is not possible for them to make their country a great success. Man is the real problem, the old and the modern problem. In fact humanity changes its clothes but not its nature that is why till education does not cultivate character it becomes purposeless. According to Ruskin "Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know. It means teaching them to behave as they do not behave". The future civilisation depends upon the improvement of human character and conduct and we should devote our energies to the construction of human nature before we make critical machinery. Bolshevism and Nazism are sometimes called new religions. Proper type of education would have definitely done a good service in breaking this superstition about these religions. No doubt, Russell in one of his essays "*Functions to a teacher*" points-out that a teacher must try and give unbiased ideas to the pupils and should not become a tool in the hands of the politicians. But Livingstone thinks that the primary purpose of education is to improve character. For Plato education is the basis of the State but the ultimate aim and essence of education is the training of character to be achieved by the discipline of the body, will and the intelligence. For training the human character various steps will have to be taken, though to this suggestion, three objections will be made. One of the objections is that some time the character may be trained in a wrong manner as was the case with Hitler. In reality we are just like the man in Mark Twain's story who spends sixteen years in jail and then opened the door which had been unlocked all the time and walked out. We are fettered in the prison of human nature though we can walk out of it if we managed properly. Another objection is that moulding of character is a dangerous operation. The attitude of this type of critic is like the servants in the Parable of the Talents. It is not possible to educate a child without conforming its mind to social needs. Similarly those who say that it is an immense problem are wrong because once it is tackled, it will not seem to be colossal. None can deny that political problem is a question of human nature rather than of organisation. Hence we need some type of re-education. So none can deny that one of the functions of education is to train character and [training of character demands that there should be special training also alongwith it. In some of the countries the schemes for the training of character have been given a subordinate place and we should just take Blake's words as the slogan of our future action—

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my swords will be in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem green and pleasant land.

The purpose of education for a civilised democracy is somewhat different. In the words of Henry Wallace this is the century of the common man because we have been able to adopt political and economic democracy. Civilisation has been defined as a sense of values and if this sense of value extends to the field of human behaviour it becomes a proper type of education. According to Matthew Arnold Athenians used to give proper type of training to the people for making them suitable for the democratic set up. Today we have some type of liberal democracy and so various versions of the democratic set up have been given. Naturally the conditions available in a modern democratic country are somewhat different from the conditions available in Athens. So the education which Pericles alludes is somewhat different from what it should be in the modern times. For a civilised democracy education should be of a type that makes the people as active participants in the working of democracy. So it is not only political education but also a sort of moral education. In the modern states various methods of propaganda are utilised for educating the people but unfortunately all of them become the victim of biased opinions and the people in general feel confused instead of getting any guideline for their working. In fact if the political party in power wishes there may be intellectual and even spiritual position but that is always dangerous because ultimately it serves as a boomrang which not only demolishes the institution but harms the party in power also. So here also we need discipline as we need in art. The culture which education seeks to communicate is not dependent on particular beliefs which are supported by the institutional ethos of society. Socially therefore education seeks to bridge the gulf between power and wisdom. The poor will have to be freed from its domination and would seek to raise wisdom to absolute power. According to Arnold the main purpose of education is "the harmonious expansion of all the powers which make the beauty and worth of human nature and is not sustained with the over-development of any one power at the expense of the rest". In our society we just try to educate the rhythm of life with the rise and fall in culture and its consequence is extreme type of frustration. Marx correctly pointed out "Frustration is the psychic price of living in a society which reduces all human worth to

exchange value". Education must serve those persons who can rise above these pressures and who have the power to reform the society in one or the other way. Similarly education in a civilised society must also teach the human beings to adjust themselves with the social order. In this connection Ruskin says in his book "Time and Tide" "cry for education among the lower order is because they think that when once they have got it they must become upper orders". So education can definitely make the people to rise above the old rut for adjusting themselves with the changing society. Clearly it will achieve a sort of new dimensions to thier thinking and will definitely serve their basic needs.

Now a days many of the educationists might think that the purpose of education is to equip a person with the weapons for fighting the forces of darkness and conservatism etc. If the society is evolving itself, as it must, it needs a push and that is always provided by the educational background. If it fails to produce a creative temper it is a bad type of education. The protective armour should not be given to the barbarous people though the cultured must always get some type of armour for protecting their rights and realising their duties. At this time the most important problem for the education is to tackle the rebellious attitude of the students. This type of revolt in the minds of the youth is perhaps because of the gap between the social conditions and the conditions available in the educational fields. For example democracy encourages democratic feeling whereas in educational field there is still authoritarianism. Similarly progress of science has provided a large number of means of recreations and pastimes but education has not been adjusted with them so far. These types of divergent pulls have created imbalance in the minds of the young. So education will have to remove this imbalance.

It will not be inappropriate to take up the question of sex education in the universities and the colleges. If education is to become a training for the preparation of life it will have to conform to the realities of life. If it ignores the demands of life it will never be able to serve the purpose which it should. This may give an impression that sex education is necessary but this type of education in the younger generation will make the question of morality irrelevant. As a result of it, we will be making human beings only cogs in the machines of life. We will have to treat human beings at different levels and education should provide an ideal training for an ideal life which is free from all types of degenerating influences. We are not

to live rather we are to live a better type of life and better, to my mind connotes, moral life than anything else.

SHOULD THERE BE STATE PATRONAGE FOR ARTS AND LETTERS ?

Art and literature are the most important channels in which the energy of an age discharges itself. In its political movements, religious thought, philosophical speculations, we have the same energy overflowing into other forms of expression. Obviously an artist is not an isolated fact ; age, with its diverse developments and movements, influences the artist and the artist in his own turn gives direction to the energies of a nation. Art holds a mirror to life. It is revelation of the nation's mind and character and so it is a social document. Art is life, shaped and organised, and as passed through the crucible of imagination. Time-spirit moulds the artists' thinking whereas he shapes the Time-spirit , if artists are so they are the highest expression of the spirit of the age ; they view reality objectively. The detachment from the self, helps them to rise above the personal prejudices, narrow mindedness, racial heritage and many other elements that make the evaluation grosser and transitory. As such he anticipates future and points out the course of social development. Shelley significantly said, "Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world". T.S. Eliot may consider the modern world a wasteland, where there is degeneration of spiritual values. He diagnoses the malady and the remedy lies with the controllers of the social change. Still an artist is never given high status in society ; he is too idealistic to think of worldly gains, too fine in taste to manipulate affairs. Should the states allow such an important instrument of social change to wear itself out ? States should help them out of their financial difficulties and patronise them.

An artist moves us, provokes us into thinking and even haunts us all the time. Art not only charms us but instructs us as well. Greek art swept the whole of the Europe by disturbing them emo-

tionally and thereby shaping their thought-process. Rousseau's ideas inculcated the democratic spirit among the French ; Hobbes could justify the monarchy of Charles II ; Italian painters gave rise to Pre-Raphaelitic movement. A person, who can channelise the thinking or energy should not be allowed either to go wild or to starve. He should be patronised by the state so that the Life Force may be given sufficient momentum.

Art is the creation of a genius. A genius thinks ahead of times ; detachment from the self and attachment with the subject makes him to rise above the narrow limits of the national and personal prejudices. An artist has a spiritual eye that can see deeper into the problems and intuition that transports his visions into the future. A common man, caught up in the mesh of worldly problems, bounded by the *urgency of pressing needs and trammelled by the conventions, traditions* and customs can never come up to the standard of a genius, in terms of thought, of course. So an ordinary person considers him an impostor, a trickster and even irrelevant. Generally a genius stems the tide that carries away the common run of humanity. Gandhiji was shot dead, Lincoln met the same fate, Socrates had to take the cup of poison because they thought ahead of their time. But an artist is necessary for bringing a social change ; rather he is more powerful than any type of propaganda. Such an artist and his creations must be patronised if society is to be evolved.

The competitive society has altered the position of the artist, Gradually he became "a tradesman selling his works as wares to those who could afford to buy them". This has, to some extent, suppressed the creative freedom of the artist and has also isolated him from the people, which means isolation from reality. It has rightly been complained against capitalism that, "It has converted the physician, the philosopher, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the scientist into paid wage labourers". Clearly the Promethean fire can be used to stroke up the furnaces of private profits. If this is done, artist is exploited by the capitalist and used to perpetuate their own ideas. They will manage to keep the masses as their intellectual slaves. A democratic organisation cannot afford to play in the hands of the capitalists, if it is to become really democratic. They need a patronage because an artist is to live and state can be the best patron.

In fact art, shorn of its vitality due to industrialisation, is isolated. "Painting moved real away from public walls, statues, from monuments and places of public worship to private mansions, to be transformed into individual portraits and figures of private patron who now secured for exclusive use what was for centuries public property". Even these buildings and mansions lost touch with art and became the symbols of wealth. The patrons, wealthy people, symbolised individual success not community consciousness. The artist is far removed from the commonfold. According to Roger Fry, "The history of art in the 19th century is the history of a band of heroic Ishmaelites, with no secure place in the social system". He is struggling with the dim idea of the freedom of art from all the trammels and tyrannies. Art should not work for the sake of a patronage, which keeps him in trammels of a different type. An artist should be encouraged to work under the pressure of his creative urge. Only then it can serve the common man. This is possible if it is patronised by the state.

So far we have been assuming that the state patronage is free from abuse. But there is a great possibility that art may be used for political purposes. It will bolster up the party in power or the political ideology suitable for the party. But it should "organise the burning lava sizzling in the breasts of the vast masses". It makes the life whole, it enables him to penetrate into the core of human heart. The social life, with all its patterns and ramifications, flows through art. The individual identifies himself with the society. The consciousness will make him conscious of his rights and duties. If the states use the artist and the man of letters for their purpose only there will be no awakening, no social consciousness and no democratic instinct. Thus state patronage may have disastrous effects on the democratic feelings; it may freeze the democratic currents. So the government should not be allowed to change patronage into complete control and make it a lever to have their own purpose. "An artist produces more as a biological function", says Rivera Diego, "just as a tree produces flowers and fruit nor mourns their fall each year, knowing that the next season it shall blossom and bear fruit again".

Art and literature must portray [illegible]
struggles of humanity. The figures [illegible]
the symbols of vast visions and actions.

be given to human aspect, rouse and rally the community's interests. Art must afford communal oneness, their physical and social unity. Its function must be public ; it must remain integrated with social structure though prepared for sweeping social changes. If the state does not patronise it, art will wither and dry up the currents of change. This does not mean that art needs the utilitarian approach. Artistic activity is an urge, that does not need any external stimulation ; whether there is any patronage or not it must go on. Patronage of the state is needed to keep art and literature alive, to keep it above sectional interest to raise it to its exalted function of channelising human energies, to help it to project human wishes and to make it free enough to express and mould human desires, hopes and fears.



SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

Scientific spirit implies objectivity of outlook and detachment from the self and the object. It implies the free will and unbiased attitude of the observer. The emotional reactions of man and the influence of feelings upon action and speech have always not only confused the thinking but has also misdirected the actions of human beings. Objectivity of outlook implies that emotions and impulses must be subordinated to reason and intellect. Consequently scientific spirit leads to very concrete results, clear thinking and sound reasoning. Reason does not mean intellectual exercise in vacuum rather it means thinking which is based upon facts and probable results. It develops in man a desire to know important facts and an unwillingness to give assent to pleasant illusions. Scientific spirit means open mind which can receive all impressions without prejudice and can revise whenever it finds itself incorrect.

Naturally, there is no fanatical attachment with any idea or ideal, no blind faith in any theory or doctrine. Scientific theories change from time to time and what recommends a theory is whether it 'works'. When new phenomena are discovered, for which it no longer 'works' it is discarded. It is judged good or bad by its

Scientific spirit has transformed man and his relations with society, Nature and to some extent with God. Previously all the power was God's. But now man has become quite powerful. Previously he was much afraid of mysterious nature. The effect of death and disease were not taken to be common occurrences. They were thought to be act of a demon which must be driven away from the patient by prayers, incantation or recitation. Now he thinks that physical laws can explain even human behaviour. This leads to materialism and denial of free will In his view the universe has no purpose and man is a creation significant in. The thinking of man has crossed the bounds of earthly existence. No doubt reason was one of the features that distinguished mankind from animals but now reason has been so much developed that man cannot only realize his position in the world but also moulds the world according to his wishes. Due to triumphs of scientific technique, scientific spirit has undergone a change. Science is considered as showing us how to change the world instead of providing means to know the world. Emotions have been completely subdued and even petty decisions are reasoned out (though the limitations of reason still exist). Scientific spirit has brought a great change not only in the organisation of the society but also in our view of society. Society is considered a mechanism which has made man a cog in it. In other words all those theories regarding the personality of society, separate identity of society, have been thrown into the wind.

One of the consequences of scientific spirit is that outlook of man has undergone a change. He has become more analytical, objective and mechanical in his attitude. His outlook has become more materialistic. As the reasoning of man does not allow him to take the unknown and invisible things as concrete objects so man has become earthly in outlook as well. He does not believe in superstitions, religion and traditions. Most of his activities are directed towards material progress and material possessions. Morality occupies no place in his considerations. He has no fellow feelings and no imaginative sympathies for the sufferers. Previously, man was considered the unit of society as well as political organisations. As science takes the world as a whole though man as an individual is as unimportant as motes in a beam of ray. The development of the mind of man and his desire to correct and revise his judgement

efficiency and the manipulation of facts. Scientific spirit makes us open to reason and arguments and so subject to revision and correction. The whole attitude of accepting a belief unquestioningly on the basis of authority is contrary to the scientific spirit and are scarcely compatible with the progress of science. It enables man to live without the delusive support of subjective certainty. Scientific spirit means a little of adventurous spirit. For a man with scientific outlook every action even the whole life becomes an experiment—of course a bold experiment. A scientist is always prepared to risk, he is ready to venture, whether he meets failure or success. He is neither harassed by the failure, nor overjoyed by success to leave his efforts in the middle. If he meets failure he tries again and again till he gets success and if he succeeds he tries to find out further applications of the result. To a spiritual being, failure or success only point out his defects or his strong points though they never depress or frustrate him. Scientific spirit takes the world and the visible and concrete things as the ultimate goal of the investigations. Abstract notions and invisible things fall beyond the scope of their investigation. They accept only those parts of knowledge which prove their worth by giving proof and discovering some new facts. So reality and the present are the objects they experiment upon. There is no complacency when a man is possessed by scientific spirit. They always review the previous achievements critically, exhaustively and exclusively. They strive continually to move towards perfection.

Scientific spirit makes its student cheerful. It fills him with the joy of anticipation. It teaches him to look forward to the future, with the hope of fresh scientific wonders. There is no end to the achievements of science. The study of art and literature discourage the student ; the literary and artistic masterpieces of the past appear to have touched a height which may be equally appreciated by the genius of the future. Scientific research on the other hand, shows a continually rising curve of achievements. The study of science also affords a man an escape from worries and anxieties. His own circumstances appear trivial when compared to the mysteries of the universe which he is trying to understand. Scientific spirit is creative and gives pleasant feelings of service to mankind because the inventions and discoveries may prove to be highly beneficial to the human beings.

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have led to much progress in the world. The pace of the progress is so quick that even the things of yesterday become out of date None can deny that progress is in the direction of materialism—that is the natural consequence of scientific spirit because it does not take account of morality and religious outlook.

One of the most deep-rooted effects of scientific spirit on man is lust for power. The new discoveries and inventions add to his power as well as love of power. His love of power has acquired predominance over other desires as pleasure of sense, aesthetic pleasure and pleasure of contemplation. Mechanism augments human powers to an enormous degree. It is, therefore, this aspect of science that affects the lovers of power. Scientific spirit has taken us to such a pass as may bring us nearer destruction. We have been inventing and discovering new weapons and armaments without caring to use them judiciously. We have the powers of God but we are using them like children. As a result of it man is preparing for his own doom. The scientific spirit has made us so curious that all other considerations are wiped out.

Scientific spirit has made us formal and so it has created a big gap between our actions and thoughts. As a result of it people have become hypocrites. There is no love, no sincerity and no humanistic relations among human beings. As a result of it people try to satisfy their selfish motives and make others as the tools for realising their aims. Our attitude towards everything including our institutions, our life and our relations with others have become mechanical. We have become time conscious and always try to finish our work in a speedy though faulty manner. We are in such a hurry that we have lost the aesthetic sense of life. We don't have time to enjoy the charms of life. Not only this but also the time consciousness has created anxiety, some type of confusion in thinking and disturbance in emotions. Our thinking has become mechanical and so we try to find out ways to achieve our aims by giving ideas to others We present our ideas as ideals and always try that people should adopt them and be baited. Man has become a thinking machine. Emotions have completely been smothered. Intellectual people who have no touch of emotions about them are good for nothing for the society. Their reasoning may direct them in the wrong direction but they act upon that because they think the decision is logical. Scientific spirit has also made man fickle-mindde. In life we

PROGRESS DOES NOT LIE IN MERE SCIENTIFIC ADVANCEMENT

Much of the progress that man has made is tagged to science. Not only progress but also the mental outlook of man is affected by it. The greatest victory of man is control over Nature. He was tried to [illegible] llest extent. He has been succe[illegible] as at his disposal not only plane[illegible] hich move faster than the [illegible] He has guns, tanks, missiles, bombs and so many other destructive weapons. Even a single man can kill hundreds of persons in a very short time. On the other hand the diminution of human sufferings [illegible] is beyond all calculations. The [illegible] system of [illegible] ds. He has [illegible] of before. [illegible] an electric [illegible] ient to the [illegible] ded nerves [illegible] ny other [illegible] He has [illegible] ction. He [illegible] ons a lot [illegible] progress real?

The word 'progress' admits of so many interpretations and to some extent it is ambiguous also. Progress cannot be called 'change' because change may be for the better or for the worse. Progress is a purposeful change. Progress cannot be identified with evolution because evolution is partly a process of Nature and partly, as the modern philosophers think, a part of unconscious human effort. On the other hand, progress means an improvement over the past. Consequently progress may be the result of evolution—the evolution which is a natural process. Progress is a change purposefully directed and properly conceived. Conception is the result of planned application of ideas to life. Progress can be viewed, particularly from materialistic and

moral points of view ... dant mech ... be called ... gold, in ...

thinking and action. If human beings cultivate the fines qualities like sympathy for the sufferers, love for human beings, upright character and humanistic approach, we say that man has made moral progress. Through moral progress man becomes a man and not an animal ; he uses moral force instead of physical force. He uses them in a constructive manner and not in a destructive way.

All the progress man has made is material progress. As a result of this progress man has become more analytical, objective and mechanical in his attitude. His outlook is now more scientific. His faculties have developed a lot and to a great extent he does not believe in ...

... He has more intelligence to exploit other's conditions and make use of their helplessness. His indifference to the cries of the hungry, the racially despised, the dispossessed is abyssmal. He may be a brilliant technician, but as yet he is a pigmy when it comes to making peace and fashioning a new humanity. His constructive efforts become pale and insignificant in comparison with his destructive use of the material progress. Appollo craf can journey to the mars, but this does nothing in ... man from ... ates white his ambiti... s. All of dangerous ... the society. All the materialistic progress is leading

man towards the destruction of humanity. It is creating more fear in the minds of the people, making them more frustrated, disappointed and dissatisfied. As a result of this, progress cannot be called progress. rather it is retrogress which is bringing the doom nearer and nearer.

Man is supposed to have made a lot of progress in the art of governing the community. Right from Monarchy, man has come down to full fledged Democracy. Ultimate political powers are evenly distributed among all adults except lunatics, and criminals. The whole of the society is not ruled by a single tyrannical king. Everybody has a freedom of movement and speech. Man is considered to be independent, free and an important part of political organisation. Judged from the materialistic point of view it is progress because man has been able to reduce the distance and has developed the methods to gather opinions of the people. Even the huge country, like India, which could never afford to have democracy, has the means to become democrats. From the moral point of view also it seems to be progress because man has recognised the claims of man upon society, and the evils of exploitation. The advocates of democracy always overstate their case, so that they expect democracy to bring millennium. But it is a superficial view and exists only in theory. If in the past man had suffered on the physical plane, now his agony is spiritual. Even under democracy an ordinary man enjoys rights only in theory but not in practice. They cannot make independent judgments because their brains are stuffed with preconceived notions, ready-made opinions. Moreover, the information they get is no more true but the manipulations of journalists and other dynamic personalities of the press. The powerful section [illegible] racy completely undemo- [illegible] nocracy, exploitation is [illegible] evil practices appear. [illegible] has rather increased the gap between the rich and the [illegible] ion between [illegible] d for others, [illegible] other evils which lead us to destruction. Decidedly it helps in the degeneration of man though in theory it may espouse the cause of man.

If we review the internal situation we will find that man has degenerated to the level of brutes. He is always guided by the

desire of dominating others. This is the reason that has developed lust for power in man. He is always busy in inventing more and more powerful and destructive weapons so that others fear him and may worship him. Despite the outward show of humanitarianism, ill-feelings lurk in the hearts of the people. America takes up the cause of the people of Vietnam to serve her own interests and to [illegible] ons are made [illegible] out the poor [illegible] on Poland or [illegible] against other [illegible] to hypocrisy [illegible] of ideals but politics governed by events. Every country has to take its stand after considering the interests of big countries. Even the national politics is governed by international considerations. Big countries play a [illegible] The lust for [illegible] considerations. [illegible] ir malady and religion the only cure." By religion he means morality as religion and morality are closely related. The person having belief in religion [illegible] guided by humanistic [illegible] k. Even on the indi- [illegible] that causes things to go as he wishes, but knowledge of natural laws. The power he acquires in this way is greater and much reliable than that is supposed to be acquired by prayers. The powers of prayer, moreover, has recognised limits but the powers of science have no known limits. As a result his faith in God and religion is decaying day by day. Man has become statistical in thinking.

of the word because man has not improved as far as humanitarianism is concerned.

ART FOR ART'S SAKE

What is the fundamental mission of Poetry ? This should be a burning question in the mind of every poet who takes his pen at all seriously, and in accord with his anwer to it we, who mould his work, judge him.

The answer to the question varies necessarily with the varying personalities and temperaments of individual poets and with their outlook on life. Wordsworth, a grave and somewhat humourless teacher of men, is ever occupied with the moral truth that lies behind and beyond the material things of life and as a result his poetry quite frequently deteriorates into that dull and laboured didacticism which has made him so impalatable to many readers. Arnold proclaims the necessity of what he styles "high seriousness", in all truly great art, but that 'high seriousness' can be of course, defined in diverse ways. However, Arnold himself means by it something akin to moral note, if not the moral note itself. Keats with his conviction that 'Beauty is truth and truth beauty' confines himself pretty much to a perception and revelation. Stevenson's work, prose and poetry is, full of the 'Love of lovely words' and of all the artistic technique which that involves. Thus we can continue indefinitely, discriminating between poets according to their individual conceptions of the mission of art, showing, too, how their conceptions have determined and shaped all they have written.

Varied indeed are the answers to one question and countless in number but in vain it will be admitted that they can be divided into three large classes—(1) The class composed of poets whose work is consciously moral, the class of didactic poets as one might say. (2) The class composed of poets, who adopting the first part of Keats creed, 'Beauty is truth' agree that art should not exist for

a moral purpose so much as primarily for its own sake. It is natural at this point, perhaps, to be reminded of Newman's contention regarding the true purpose of education contained in the 'Idea of a University', namely that knowledge is its own end and to be pursued primarily for an ulterior or utilitarian purpose, for the positions of such poets as I am now describing and of Newman are decidedly analogies. If this be, indeed, the end of knowledge, can it equally rationally be contended that art too should be followed and created for its own sake rather than with a definite pulpit or semi-pulpit purpose. (3) The larger class of poets who while consciously moralising, do not draw any such sharp distinction between Beauty and Truth and virtue, but regard them all as essential, no true poetry of the highest class being possible which is not blending of them all.

Now of these three classes so defined, it is to the second that our attention is drawn. Morality consists in obeying certain rules of human conduct, which have been made by men no doubt, but there is an idea that "behind them lies the deeper judgement of God". This religious element supplies the greatest "incentive to respect moral consideration". But men often confuses morality with religion. Those rules of human conduct are not mutable. They are different in different countries. They change with the change of environments. Even among the people professing the same religion moral considerations differ. This is due to the difference in social customs which have nothing to do with God or heaven. But there are certain moral ideas which do not change with time and place.

It seems therefore clear that art and morality, aestheticism and ethicism have different spheres, and have no connection whatsoever. This line of thinking has given birth to a school of thought which holds that art is for the sake of art and it has nothing to do with morality. If moral considerations sway the mind of an artist, his creative genius would be chained and it would not have its free play without which no great art can blossom. Art expresses, that is all; even if there be any indecent thought it must express it, otherwise it would be guilty of hypocrisy.

They value art for the aesthetic value it yields. Johnson and Shelley are in favour of Art for Art's sake. They argue that the sole object of art is to please us by its aesthetic experience. They are

aware of no connection between that experience and human conduct. If a work of art is good to them, its goodness is not moral but simply aesthetic, something perceived immediately and valued for its own sake without its relation to any kind of conduct. If they lament the loss of a book or a poem, it is because of inherent qualities that are in the poem. It is because they have lost the poem itself. But if we, as may happen, do learn something from a work of art, that is by accident, it is not the reason of valuing it, nor in fact are we disappointed if we learn something from a book of art, for the function of art for such critics is not to reach dull formulæ. It is only an after-thought that we connect our experience with our future at all.

Swinburne and Keats believe in the sensuous experience of art. Keat's exclamation. "Oh, for a life of sensations rather than of thoughts" prove the thesis, that with a great poet the sence of Beauty overcomes every other consideration rather obliterates all other considerations, which tend to show his attitude towards his art. He worshipped beauty for the sake of beauty. Oscar Wilde like Swinburne too had no utilitarian view of art and battles against didacticism in letters, even going so far as to condemn the novels of Dickens and Charles Reade, because they are novels with a purpose. For him as for Swinburne art existed for its own sake. Its prime function was not to teach but to reveal the beautiful.

For Oscar Wilde "Art is life itself". These champions ask if man is more animal than rational, why should they express life depicting him more divine. In ancient Greek and Hindu arts such things were allowed. There are statues and paintings of naked women, in poses which a gentleman can hardly look at, but these pass off in polished society, as good specimen of Greek sculpture and painting.

This school of thought in literature gives the pictures of abnormal sex life and supports them as an example of realistic life. Little do these advocates think of the effects that are likely to be produced on the health of society. In decent pictures; ugly literature, immoral songs which show only the animal side of man and take no account of the divine aspect of him as strut on the stage of the art world as realistic art. Art is neither moral, nor immoral, but a

thing on which moral considerations should not be applied at all, and may be called 'Immoral'.

There is another class of artists who hold the just opposite view. All human activities and art are not exception to that - it must be guided and controlled by moral law. No man can do anything which is calculated to undermine the health of society. If he does so, the public opinion must stop him, and those who hold human welfare sacred must punish him. The march of man from barbarism to civilization is a long chapter of suppression of his brutal and vulgar instincts. The animal side of man must not be displayed by any body so that the animal passion, "dormant in man, may awaken". An artist therefore is not free to do whatever he likes. He lives in a society with pictures of obscenity and vulgarity.

Ruskin and others of this school believe in the relation of art and morality. To the them a work of art is nothing but a "Sermon in disguise". Art should not be stripped off morality which gives a reality to it. The advocates of art for the sake of morality did not read any significance in aesthetic experience—a mere sensuous perception of beauty. They denounce vociferously the unstrained flights of imagination in art. They argue that art loses its value when it comes to lack morality which is the true criterion of art. To talk in terms of the absolute is useless. It can never be attained. Art is not to be explained in terms of the absolute. It should explain the significance of life with all complications. The more it recedes from this moral aspect, the more useless it becomes. Morality and art should go hand in hand. Ruskin calls that art greatest which "conveys to the mind of the spectator by any means or medium the greatest ideas". The power of giving ideas measures the greatness of art.

These two different themes of art provide two different methods of dealing with life. Art for the sake of art means an escape from life into the new world created by art. On the other hand art for the sake of morality furnishes us with a 'foot hold' to face life with all its temptations and risks. When we are studying the artists of the former class, we are led into "charmed-magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas in faery land forlorn". Art for the sake of morality is the soul of art while art for the sake of

art is the intellect of art. The critics vibrant with the latter view try to save the intellectual problem of an age while the former one fly from it.

Byron says, "Art is triumph of mind over matter". He again says "While science is subjecting of the mind to matter, art is subjecting of the matter to the mind. If we look into this statement, it is left to us to see which of the two theories discussed above serves the greatest purpose. Art for the sake of art carries the requisite triumph so far as to remove matter altogether outside the picture. The other sticks to it, and struggles to invest it with a glow of harmlessness. Both of them take us out of the darkness into light only, the former light is dazzling while the latter is simply aglow. Thus both the theories console us and they lend solace to those who shelter from 'misfortune by offering them an interpretation of it.

The artist should neither make a conscious effort of moralising, nor should deliberately defy moral principles. The duty of the artist is "creation of joy". But he engages himself in painting pictures of ugliness to pander to the approved table of the "Vulgar people, and proclaiming to be a work of art, it would be guilty if he who suppresses all natural and normal human passions and points only pictures of divine life. The truth is that a great artist unconsciously becomes a moralist, for "beauty is truth". As for the ordinary artist he should follow the golden mean between the two extremes. "A poetry of revolt against life, a poetry of indifference towards moral ideas is a poetry of indifference towards life".

Now it seems to us that in part at least we can admit Bandelaise and his disciples are right. Without skilful workmanship, no true art can exist. We are reminded of a speech made at a dinner by late Robert Bridges. He was giving a few words of advice to budding and would be poets and writers, and in the course of his talk made the statement that he believed in such literary aspirants letting out with reserve what was in them. A little later, another speaker arose and objected to this view. Too many young men, he asserted, wrote in just that way ; and then he emphasized the absolute necessity for more careful workmanship.

If art for art theory can ensure careful workmanship, it has, it seems to us, brought about something very desirable in literature.

Mere didacticism is, indeed, never art, it is only when the highest sort of teaching is clothed in the noblest vestment of expression that is really worthwhile. That such vestment is the aim of the advocates of art for art theory is incorrect.

But the great poet must be more than the mere artist; he must be the visionary and the seer, and the teacher in the very highest and truest sense. Morality or high seriousness does not necessarily imply didacticism—there the advocate of the art for art theory commits error no less than Wordsworth but it implies rather a revelation of the eternal and supreme truth of life. A poet does not need to be consciously moralising but his work must have moral values behind it to be everlasting.

It was assuredly this that made Morris write of Swinburne in the following manner. "Time was when poetry resulting merely from this intense study and love of literature might have been, if not the best, yet in any rate, very worthy and enduring, but in these days, when the issue is so momentous and surroundings of life so stern that nothing can take serious hold of people or should do so, but that which is rooted deepest in reality and is quite first hand, there is no room for anything which is not forced out of a man because of its innate strength and vision.

Strength and vision are indeed, what art for art sake theorists lacked most, for these qualities come from that moral case which is the basis of all greater literature.

The kernel of all great poetry is to be discovered in its moral significance; the shell is the art in which that kernel can be found. The shell, indeed, is necessary if the kernel is to be preserved through passing of years, it must be so formed that it will be durable and adequate, for without it the kernel will decay and be lost. But the shell after all is only a shell. If it will be empty or the kernel be withered and dry, it is of little value. Such is the true relation of technique to ideas or ideals in art.

(Adapted)

D-24

ON THE VALUE OF SCEPICTISM

Curiosity is the instinctive urge, the inborn desire, the natural phenomenon of human nature. The very texture of human sensibility is woven with the threads of the spirit of adventure, the zest to unravel and the tendency to explore. Scientific thinking or the rational outlook owes its origin to this very source. Right from the stone age down to this age of 'Sputniks' whenever sense of curiosity has coupled itself with necessity, some invention has been the result. No doubt science, which moulds men's beliefs is only three hundred years old, beginning with Galileo, the Italian exponent of the logic and irreducible facts, no doubt science as a power—knowledge which helps us in transforming the human environment is younger still, but science as an adventure of the *rationale* into the mysterious is as old as the human beings. The free-play of rational thinking was curbed by the dogmatic beliefs and blind faith, which were the basic assumptions of the reigning monarch of the day, I mean religion. Gradually passing through these trials and tribulations and from under the crushing burden of customs, traditions and conventions emerged the scientific outlook, the sceptic attitude.

Sceptic attitude is an attitude of mind that takes nothing for granted unless it is verified by personal experience, observation or expert opinion. Russell defines it as "the habit of taking account of all relevant evidence in arriving at a belief", while in questions of practice it is "the habit of remembering all our relevant desires and not only one which happens at the moment to be strongest". This attitude of mind is the child of science and the foster child of democracy—democracy which guarantees freedom of expression and extends equal opportunities without any distinction of caste, creed or sex. In modern life it is of inestimable value. But sceptic attitude adopted for its own sake will, like Dianosaurs, kill itself. Moreover, it will degenerate into suspicion and doubt, which are the symptoms of an unhealthy mind and illogical thinking. While estimating the sceptic attitude I will restrict its meaning (or in the language of cynics exalts its interpretation) to rational thinking or scientific outlook.

Incalculable harm has been done because people have been inclined to accept implicitly ready-made opinions, age old conventions and the backed view. Religious dogmas, political creeds, ethical ideas

have thus been accepted and acted upon with no appeal to reason. This 'suspension of disbelief' or disarming oneself of reason has made the modern generations slaves, at least, with regard to thinking. In short religious belief or irrational faith is inimical to our progress—mental, social and political; it is dangerous to our society. But the paradox of the problem is that people have hated and even today hate the sceptics far more than they hate the passionate advocates of opinions hostile to their own. Many opponents of churches were burnt alive, many critics of the established order had to suffer throughout their lives; Galileo lived under the constant fear of death, Newton was not recognised, Shelley and Keats were badly denounced. Even today communists want to wipe out capitalism from the world while the capitalists are red with 'tooth and claw' to tear it into pieces. What is the reason of this paradox? It is thought that the claims of practical life demand opinions on such questions and if we become more rational, social existence would be impossible. But it is utterly false.

Social life is infested with the weeds of customs which check the growth of the delicate flower of social progress. Social unity is disrupted and the gulfs between different groups widen because of the observance of conventions. Only the rational approach or sceptic attitude would have bridged the gulfs and established the unity.

Let us take an illustration. The bulk of the population of every country is of the view that all the marriage customs, other than its own, are immoral. In India, the remarriage of widows is traditionally regarded as a thing too horrible. In Catholic countries, divorce is considered very wicked, but some failure of conjugal fidelity is tolerated. In America divorce is easy but extra conjugal relations are condemned. Mohammedans believe in polygamy. These varied views on the same subject are held with extreme vehemence. But, if we view the problem, with a little sceptic attitude we will discover that all of these views involve cruelty and intolerance towards offenders against the local code. Sin is geographical, it must not transcend the boundaries.

Social progress will be hampered and may be stunted, at all if the members are not scientific in their outlook. Change is the law of Nature, reasoning can be moulded, modified and even overhauled by changes while beliefs try to stand the onslaught of its tide to become more rigid and more firm. Progress, as Radhakrishnan tells us, is the

successful adjustment of social behaviour to changes. Evidently rationalism can take us forward.

The world of today, which is torn by conflicts and where the insignificant issues threaten to flare up into world war, where a hundred yard race for supremacy and armament is going on, requires a rational attitude. Today we find that the Summit meetings are held to be broken, U.N.O. exists to *further disensions. In* such a charged atmosphere, if the leaders develop a rational attitude by shedding their prejudices, and dissolving their differences, there is some ray of hope.

A stumbling block in the way of world unity is nationalism and the consequential patriotism. Nationalism is an extreme example of fervent belief concerning doubtful matters. Any attack, even if rational, on their national feelings is thought ill-mannered in normal times while in war-time it is branded criminal. Opposing systems of violent beliefs are built up and the application of reason to these beliefs is thought to be wicked. The spread of rational scepticism would help us to take off the cloak of nationalism to enable us to achieve unity in the world.

What part does the intellectual factor play in the human behaviour ? *Many psychologists hold that habit which* is a sort of belief to them, mostly determines the general structure of our lives. If we study the life of an individual we will discover that beliefs are the causes of action.

But question arises how far beliefs could and should be the causes of action. If we take up 'could', it admits of a lot. But 'should' *is doubtful. Rational thinking should guide our actions though it* may not be a cause of action.

'Vigilance is the price of liberty' says Nehru. Democracy can easily degenerate into dictatorship of the few. Evidently democracy requires political consciousness, and alertness. Can this be achieved through belief ? No. Faith, rather blind faith, engenders many evils like *hero-worship or personality cult. It is only sceptic attitude* that can make us vigilant and qualify us to protect our liberty and freedom.

While elaborating the value of scepticism I never wished to uphold that scepticism which does not give any place to common-sense beliefs. Moreover, the opinion of the experts must be accepted by non-experts as more likely to be right than the opposite opinion. The scepticism which I have upheld amounts to this - that when the experts agree, the opposite opinion cannot be held as certain.

ROLE OF THE FREE PRESS

If a dog bites a man it is no news, but if a man bites a dog it is news. Newspapers not only give us information about the odd happenings which may interest the human beings and may also claim the emotional and intellectual involvement in that problem, but also something more than that. Infact with the passage of time newspapers have grown into not only a diversion for the breakfast table but also an essential source of knowledge and the most important medium of making the people democratic in their outlook and thinking. At the earlier stages of its growth the press was just to give information to the people and to keep them alive to the changes in the country and the world at large. But as all media of education are used or misused for one or the other purpose so is the case with the newspapers. Long ago Burke called the press the Fourth Estate and we can conveniently call it the fourth important organ of the democratic states the other three being executive, legislature and judiciary. If the press is independent and the reports are objective, which is of course impossible, it can keep the minds of the people open to all impressions. But now-a-days there are subtle suggestions in the news, and there are very clever distortions here and there. So the primary purpose of newspapers now-a-days is to colour the opinions of the people. They provide the public with ready made opinions and baked ideas. The people also accept these things happily because the common man has neither the intelligence nor the time to verify the validity of the news or to gather the correct opinion from other sources. Otherwise also it is the weakness of even educated people that they believe a printed word more readily than a word from mouth. So most of the people quote newspapers in order to support

their contentions. They forget that the newspapers might have *falsified the news* for the benefit of the party or in accordance with the newspapers also. Once the ideas are propagated it is very difficult, because of the lack of resources to sift the truth from falsehood. Consequently, people become the victim of propaganda without being conscious of this process.

From the foregoing discussion it becomes clear that the newspapers are generally not independent, though they should be because there lies the real service of the newspapers to the nations. A free press can definitely consolidate the forces of democracy and can easily negative the influence of pulls and pressures which have been dragging the citizens away from the democratic thinking. If the news are reported objectively and the problems are analysed with no bias, it is definitely possible to make the people to think correctly. Correct thinking on the part of the citizens of a democratic state is very important because that will guide them to cast their votes properly and as the people whom they elect would be the right sort of people. In the governmental institutions which work on the basis of governing oneself, the responsibilities of the people increase a lot but they can discharge their responsibilities if they have some pre-requisite qualifications for discharging in them. Ignorance may be a bliss as the 18th century poet thinks but in a democratic country ignorance of one's duties or of the political conditions definitely leads to the crumbling of the democratic structure. If the people do not get proper type of information how can they fight for their rights and discharge their duties. Moreover the people in power have a tendency to assume more powers. Lust for power as *Russell* thinks cannot be completely finished. It is difficult to force the people in power to observe the ethics of power. Consequently, power creates greater love for power and so they try to snatch away the rights of the people. People have to keep a watch over the government and their actions; eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. For keeping vigilance it is necessary that the citizen should be well informed; ill in formed people may create difficulties in the working of the government and also be responsible for hindering the smooth working of the democratic institution. It is only the newspapers which can provide the objective assessment of the different happenings at the state and the world level. The political and the economic problems whether national or international have become so complicated that it is necessary to know the background and also to know the complexity of the problem in a

proper manner. Only the experts like the seasoned journalists can help the people to have an objective assessment of the situation. So a press which is committed to a particular policy can never help in consolidating the democratic forces. Similarly, the newspapers can create the conditions for war or peace. In fact the only handy source of information for a common man is the press. They can rouse the people to rebellion if they feed them with the news which can prejudice the people against a particular authority. If they go on disseminating information which may make the people to think ill of other nations, the conditions of war are easily created. For example, Pakistan has been using press for channelising the people's minds in a direction in which the government wanted it to be channelised. Whenever Pakistan leaders feel that the situation is beyond their control they try to divert the attention of the people by propagating that India was going to attack them. Similarly, the conditions for peace can also be created through the press. If they try to calm down the ruffled emotions of the people and adopt a constructive approach it is possible to establish peace in the world as well as in the States. Sometimes the newspapers create artificial scarcity of certain essential commodities if they publish false news regarding scarcity of certain goods or possibility of the imposition of certain taxes or probable closure of certain factories, they will succeed in creating greater demand for those goods.

Apart from it free press can educate people for social progress as well. Customs and conventions entrench themselves in the thinking of the people so deep, that they colour every mode of behaviour and every act of the human beings. Sometimes they become a second habit and it is impossible to shake them off. People stick to their social customs so religiously that even if the whole society is doomed they won't give up the observance of these conventions. The society cannot be kept static ; the process of evolution should go unhampered and the social outlook and social behaviour should be in conformity with the social effort which is to be conditioned according to the circumstances. No doubt it is human nature to respect that mode of action which has stood the test of time and which has also transcended the jerks and jolts of the changing circumstances, yet it is necessary ; for the society to adapt itself to the new values. For example in the modern times scientific advances have created altogether new values of life ; objective outlook, analytical approach and the spirit to investigate have created a new set of values to which the social

customs will have to be adjusted. As in social life revolutionary changes always meet with a stiffer opposition, so a proper type of atmosphere must be created for bringing a change. It depends upon the press how far it is able to create conditions for bringing a social change. Similarly a free and independent press can also give a direction to the economy of a country. Economic problems in a country sometimes become very troublesome if the government does not get support from the newspapers. Economic crisis may be interpreted as the sign of the failure of the government, by the opposition parties. Consequently, the people may rally their forces and start opposing the people in power unnecessarily. The ultimate consequences of this type of action will never be beneficial because instead of solving the problems it will create more problems. Free and independent press is necessary for the working of political institutions and also for ameliorating the conditions of society etc. Many a time the press can boost up the morale of the people by keeping them properly informed about the situation and also about the possibilities of newly developed situation. Sometimes the news may be suppressed in order to avoid panic which may result in so many other problems. Sometimes they distort the news so that they may have a good effect upon the thinking of people.

Is it possible to make the press free and independent ? There is doubt about this because nowadays the press is in the hands of big businessmen as it has become an industry. Like all industrial organisations it is also run with profit motive and with all the methods which are necessary for the growth of industry. In other words we have what is generally called 'Yellow Journalism'. This type of journalism simply caters to the needs of the people and exploits their weaknesses for furthering the profit-interest of the industry. Otherwise yellow journalism leaves a wrong impression upon the minds of the people. Apart from this the newspapers serve the interests of the political parties. Their policies are coloured by the policies of those very parties. They propagate their ideologies. They try to build a better type of image of that party, they even go out of the way to colour the thinking of the people accordingly. Some of the newspapers give a slant to news according to the interests of that very party or the proprietors of the newspapers. All of these things are done by assigning particular types of headings to the news which clearly change the implications of the news. This is also done by distorting the news and by suppressing some of them. Suppression

of the news is done in a very interesting manner; some of the unimportant news which serve the demands of their policy are given greater importance by bringing them on the front page. Some of the newspaper readers are interested only in the headings because they don't have enough time to go through the whole of the news or to analyse it. Even reporting of the news may be biased. We have been hearing that some of the Asian Newspapers could not report certain news objectively because they get those only from the western news agencies. In Asia there are many news agencies which can cater to the needs of the Asian newspapers and can interpret the news from Asian point of view. This makes a lot of difference and objective assessment of the news is not possible. So complete independence of the press is just a myth.

In India it seems that the press is to play a very important role because our democracy is passing through its infantile period. No doubt we have passed the teething troubles, still a proper nurse is needed to take active interest in the healthy development of our democracy. Press can ventilate the grievances of the people with greater force and can make the people in power to bow before the government public opinion. On the other hand it can interpret the policies of the government to the people in an objective manner. If there is a proper understanding between the people and the democracy becomes strong and people repose confidence in their leaders. This type of action on the part of the press will make the government responsible to the people and responsive to public opinion. If the press is not independent it will never try to further the cause of the people if it does not conform to their policies. In India we have Press Council which according to some of the people has became a hindrance in the way of independent press. They say it is dominated by the nominees of the government and so it has not been able to safeguard the interests of the newspaper industry. Moreover some of the policies of the government like withholding the advertisements, laying the price-page schedule and also rationing the quantity of newsprint hampered the freedom of press. It is generally complained that the Indian Government wants to have a committed press as the Prime Minister has openly said. In fact, this is wrong tendency to have a committed judiciary or a committed press. In fact, this also boils down to a very ugly conclusion that is the government wants to have committed voters—voters who are committed to the policies of the party in power. This

will be prostitution of democracy and democracy itself will become a farce. Press will have to be independent as far as it is possible otherwise we will have to say that in India, democracy cannot strike its roots in the ground.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF UNITED NATIONS

Love of peace and desire for war are twin emotions of human nature ; immediately after war man becomes a bit wiser and thinks of establishing permanent peace in the world. It was with this good intention that the League of Nations was created after the First World War. Generally during peace time nations prepare for war and their efforts for peace are completely frustrated after some time. This was the case with the nations after the First World War ; they brought an end to League of Nations and the result was the Second World War. At the end of this war U.N.O. was brought into being. The main purpose of United Nations was to establish peace in the world. Generally it has been noticed that the United Nations come in the picture when the disputes among the different states assume serious dimensions. According to the UN Charter the disputing nations are supposed to settle their disputes through peaceful negotiations. If peace is maintained in the world the developing nations will definitely progress whereas the developed nations can live in peace because peace is the basic desire of man. In fact right from the birth of civilisations man has been trying to establish peace either through social codes or through political organisations. The nations in the world have formed a world community and the disputes among the different nations are to be settled by somebody which is somewhat above these nations though because of the sovereignty of the nations it cannot be a super-power. According to U Thant United Nations has done well but not well enough. The truth of the statement is brought out if we survey the work of the United Nations during its period of 30 years' working.

The first important case taken up by the Security Council concerned Soviet Union's interference in the internal affairs of Iran.

The Security Council which shoulders the main responsibility of maintaining peace in the world, referred this case back to the disputing parties. Again the case was referred to the Security Council by Iran but it was kept on the agenda for indefinite period. Later on Soviet troops were withdrawn and the discussion on the topic was adjourned. The next case taken up by the Security Council concerned the dispute between Holland and Indonesia when the Dutch troops began military action against Indonesia. The Security Council appointed Good Offices Committee composed of the representatives of Australia, Belgium and the United States. The Committee succeeded in bringing about a ceasefire. This resulted in the independence of Indonesia and Holland withdrew to the truce line. After this the Greek Government brought to the notice of U.N. that the communist states were helping the guerillas for creating trouble in their country. A Special Investigation Commission was set up as the Soviet Union vetoed several times in the Security Council. The question was referred to the General Assembly. Even the General Assembly did not succeed much. It only passed a resolution that the communist states should not help the guerillas. The next case was brought by the Indian Government regarding the treatment of Indians in the South Africa. The Union of South Africa did not think that it was the competence of the General Assembly to deal with that case but the General Assembly passed a resolution making it clear to South Africa that the treatment of the foreigners should be according to international obligations. South African Government did not pay much attention and it has been pointed out that the adamant view of South Africa has prevented a solution.

One of the most important cases brought before the Security Council was the Kashmir question. India approached the Council with the complaint that Pakistan was instigating and helping the tribesmen who invaded Kashmir. Pakistan evaded the issue by pleading that the accession of Kashmir to India was illegal and number of counter allegations were made against India. A United Nations Commission was formed for the investigation. The Commission asked the Government to issue ceasefire and a truce agreement was initiated. It was agreed that Pakistan would withdraw its troops and the territories evacuated by the troops would be administered by the local authorities. But the Commission did not have much success; it was able to effect ceasefire but could not prepare the way for

plebiscite. Sir Owen Nixon of Australia was entrusted with this responsibility and he reported his inability in this respect. Even Dr. Frank Graham of USA who replaced Mr. Owen Nixon failed in his mission. The Security Council also gave very little attention to the problem after 1953. In 1965 there were a large number of violations of the ceasefire. So the Security Council called for an immediate ceasefire and the recommendations of the Security Council were accepted. In order to make ceasefire effective the size of the UN Military observers' group in Kashmir was increased. In 1966 an agreement known as Tashkant Declaration was signed and the withdrawal of the troops was done. Even in 1971, following Pakistan's aggression, the Kashmir problem was again brought to the limelight. No doubt ceasefire was made effective still Kashmir problem is alive issue. The problem has not been solved rather it has been hanging in balance all the time. According to Professor Robert Strauzez Hupe and Possony "in any case the Kashmir issue can be scrapped as a failure as far as the United Nations' intervention is concerned. For that matter it generated hostilities between India and the United States."

One of the most complex problems referred to the United Nations was the Palestine question. The Great Britain requested the General Assembly to take up the case and a sub-committee on Palestine was set up. The committee reported that Palestine should be divided into an Arab State and Jewish State and a special area including Jerusalem under international commission. Recommendations were accepted and even the Jewish leaders hailed the recommendations. But the Palestinian Government had to take the help of armed forces to effect a division of Palestine. As soon as the mandate was given up the Arab states started an armed action in Palestine. So the General Assembly appointed a UN Mediator who was successful in arranging a truce for some time. The Mediator and the Chief French observers were shot dead and after hectic effort a general armistice was concluded between Egypt and Israel. Even this problem is alive problem because it has resulted in many wars between Egypt and Israel. After this Corfu Channel question was brought before the Security Council. The British Government reported against Albania which caused heavy loss to life and property and to British warships in Corfu Channel. The Security Council referred the dispute to International Court of Justice and the Court held that Albania was

responsible for the violation of international law and was asked to pay the compensation which was never paid.

The Berlin question was another important question taken up by the Security Council. The USSR Government had imposed unilaterally some restriction on transport and communication between the western zone of occupation in Germany and Berlin. This was considered to be violation of article 2 of the Charter. Soviet Union held that it does not fall within the competence of the Security Council to discuss the matter but the question of the Berlin blockade was resolved only outside the UN.

The Korean crisis was one of the serious tests of the competence of UN. After the Second World War it was agreed that the Soviet troops would take care of the areas north of 38th Parallel and UN Forces would take care of south of the Line. The two powers established a commission for setting up provisional Korean Democratic Government and the United States of America took the question to UN and a temporary government was set up. North Korea launched an unprovoked attack but South Korean Republic precipitated an international crisis. The Security Council asked upon the parties to stop hostilities and then as it did not become effective the Council recommended assistance to the Republic of Korea and the UN requested the member states to provide military assistance and sixteen members agreed to do so. As long drawn out war commenced, China openly came into conflict with UN forces. It was with a great effort that peace was established but the problem was not solved. The decisive action of the United Nations in meeting the aggression convinced the states that they must be the allies of the major powers. It also proved that the UN Charter is flexible because even the absence of Soviet Union did not prevent the action by the Council. It also demonstrated certain important features of the idea of collective security. But the most important contribution of this crisis as Mr. Leland M. Goodrich says, "the Korean question paved the way for making the Council's primary responsibility the permanent members were in full accord..."

In October 1956 there was a popular uprising in Hungary and Russia sent troops to suppress the revolt. This armed intervention by Russia was brought to the Security Council by the UK, USA and France. The USA dominated the emergency session of the General Assembly but Soviet Union vetoed this. It was in November that the General Assembly adopted the resolution asking the Soviet Union to

Congo crisis emerged as it was granted independence by Belgium. Taking an undue advantage of the disturbed conditions, the province of Katanga revolted against the central administration. The communist countries supplied war material to the Central Government and the Western powers encouraged Katanga leaders. An emergency meeting of the Security Council was called for sending UN military force to Congo. Security Council asked Belgium to withdraw her troops from Congo and the Secretary General of UN was authorised to send UN peace force. In 1960 the UN General Assembly requested the Secretary General to continue vigorous action. When the UN force helped in maintaining peace over there, it did not become an arena of war.

Cuba crisis of 1962 was also one of the important crisis. A naval blockade around Cuba was ordered by the USA to prevent military shipment from Russia. USSR adopted a stiff attitude to the mediation efforts of the United Nations ultimately it compelled Russia to dismantle the missile basis in Cuba. Rhodesian question in South Africa was also handled by the Security Council. The UN Trusteeship Council passed a resolution in 1965 urging Great Britain to employ all necessary measures to make Rhodesia to observe code of conduct. Even economic sanctions against Rhodesian Government were vetoed in the Security Council. The Africans criticised the attitude of U.N. towards the close of 1966 there was Arab-Israeli War. The Arab-Israeli question lowered the status of the United Nations. Israel succeeded in keeping the U.N. at arms length and the Arabs were completely disgusted with the U.N. Arabs launched another attack in 1973 for recovering Arab territory. No doubt the conflict assumed serious nature after the intervention of USSR and the U.S.A., still the cease-fire was brought though not much through the intervention of U.N. In 1968 Soviet Union intervened in Czechoslovakia and she supported her allies to occupy Czechoslovakia. The special meeting of the Security Council was convened and it just passed a resolution condemning Soviet action but agreement was reached in August.

Clearly enough if we examine the role played by UN in maintaining peace we will have to say that U.N. has completely failed to settle most of the disputes finally. It has helped in relieving the tension but it has not finished the tension. According to Palmer and Perkins only a few international disputes are really settled by the U.N. Secondly, United Nations has always encouraged the settlement through

withdraw her troops from Hungary. Soviet Union agreed to withdraw troops from the capital of Hungary though she did not consider it within the competence of the UN to take up this question. General Assembly through a resolution asked the Hungarian Government to allow the UN observers to enter Hungary but Hungary refused to receive UN observers and Soviet Union ignored the demand for withdrawal of troops. Later on a sub-committee was appointed and the committee held Soviet Union responsible for armed intervention but the recommendations of the committee could not be carried out. In June 1958 the leaders of the revolt were executed by the Hungarian Government though it had given the understanding that she would not do it. So the Hungarian question clearly shows that UN was completely paralysed when a nation was brutely oppressed.

Suez crisis also became one of the most explosive questions. Egypt announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal and the funds of the Canal Company were frozen. Great Britain and France took a serious view of it and pointed out that it was in contravention of the international charter of canal establishment by the Treaty of Constantinopol of 1888. Egypt promised to pay full compensation. Two plans —one from India and another from America—were rejected. So the case was referred to the Security Council. The council adopted a resolution unanimously urging that there shall be free and open transit through the Canal and Egypt's sovereignty shall be respected and the portion of the canal will be insulated from politics. Soviet Union used her veto on against some parts of the proposal. Then there was Egypt-Israel conflict in 1956 and the USA moved a resolution calling on all the nations to refrain from the use of force in Egypt and this was vetoed by UK and France. Then in 1957 the General Assembly called upon the British, French and Israeli troops to withdraw from Egypt and in 1958 final agreement was reached regarding the settlement of compensation of Suez stock holders.

Then comes the Algerian question. This question was brought before UN in 1955. The Algerian people wanted freedom from the French rule and the French dealt with them in a very tyrannical manner. UN Political Committee passed a resolution hoping that Algerian people would end bloodshed but France did not pay any heed to it. Another resolution was passed but the dispute came to an end only after seven years when the two parties concluded a ceasefire agreement. This paved the way for Algerian freedom.

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peaceful negotiations. In fact the help of U.N. is sought only when all other methods of peaceful settlement fail. There are certain limitaions upon UN as it does not have some legal sanction behind its actions it cannot force the nations to accept its decision. Otherwise also another cause of the failure of the UN as Palmer and Perkins has pointed out is "deeply embeded nationalism, sovereignty and nation states psychology". Even the vetoing power of the permanent members of the Security Council has been a serious handicap. In fact we should agree with Professor Lippman when he says, "it is outstanding that the universal society of United Nations survives and that it is if anything more deeply rooted, more tenaciously adhered to than it was 10 years ago". The achievement of UN in the social and economic fields cannot at all be under estimated. The working of WHO and UNICEF has been universally praised. It helped in establishing national health administration, rehabilitating refugees after the Second World War and Palestine Arab conflict and Indo Pakistan war etc. Its agency also provides food, clothing and medical aid to the needy children. U.N. also promoted respect for human rights through universal Declaration of Human Rights. Similarly economic achievement of UN are commendable. The International Bank and IDA advances loans for economic development. FAO has been solving food problems as far as it is possible. The lot of the labourers has been improved through ILO. So despite the fact that UNO has failed to establish effective peace in the world it has definitely been cônducive to the welfare of the international society.

WHITHER INDIAN YOUTH

The old uphold traditional values, conservative ideologies and customary outlook. The young represent the emerging patterns, newly adopted ways of life and the nascent tendencies. If the old are proud of their accumulated wisdom, which has been tested and verified through experience, the young are confidently ambitious of winning their goal, which they have conceived and modelled according to the new-fledged hopes. The younger are liberal in outlook, plastic in their thinking energetic and adventurous in their actions. The older are conservative in the ways, cautious in their approach and wordly in opinions. Consequently the younger generation is more sensitive to social maladjustments, political exploitations and the economic difficulties. Their involvement in the national affairs is emotional so their reactions are also emotional. There is no sobering influence of intellect in the case of the young and they register their grievances through violent protests. It is perhaps wrong to say that the youth is always rebellious and the unrest among the young is a natural phenomenon of life. The frustration among them is the symptom of a deeper malady than a usual dissatisfaction with the ideal. Pre-Emergency participation of the young in violent or non-violent-agitations in Bihar and Maharashtra has made the people to think about the direction which is given to the energies of the young. We may deplore the agitations but equally condemnable is the authority's tendency to over-react. It is foolishness to argue that students should remain insulated from what is happening around them ; they will not refrain from participating, in bringing about changes which they consider necessary for social betterment. They may, of course, be persuaded to think independently and to act according to their own judgement and not to be led by political forces with partisan axes to grind.

The rebellious attitude of the younger generation is pregnant with serious and far-reaching implications. Apart from the set back, which their education may receive, they create law and order problem. The orgy of violence let loose may even generate general dissatisfaction. A common man is more interested in security of life and property that is peaceful atmosphere for discharging one's responsibilities. The random actions of the younger contribute to social distemper and political instability. Howsoever we may camouflage it, violence is the effort of one group of people to impose

its will by inflicting even death and destruction upon others. Is it not undemocratic ? Democracy demands the spirit of adjustment, understanding and reconciliation. Radha Krishnan has correctly said, "This world has suffered much pain and cruelty from doing what we believe to be right, rather than doing from what we know to be wrong". Our attitudes harden and we hold dogmatic faith in the correctness of our own line of thinking. Our approach is not constructive ; the government is out to suppress the agitations even at the cost of lives whereas the agitators have no desire to adjust. In fact the more deeply an abuse is embedded in the social system the more difficult is it to rouse men's conscience against it. The uprooting of basic ideas, of fixed mental habits with emotional associations is a painful process. So political corruption, abuse of power and exploitation might be the legacies of the colonial rule and people might be used to it, but the new awakening, may be among a few, cannot tolerate it. Human nature is essentially plastic and changes with moulding impact of a change. We must recognise evil, which is present in our institutions and this will become a prelude to advancement. Philosophers like Spengler may think that making life intolerable is the inevitable element of human nature: "Man is a beast of prey"........All the paragons of virtue and the social moralists who want to get beyond this are only beasts of prey with broken teeth..........". But human behaviour is largely acquired and not instinctive ; so man becomes beast because the environments make him so. So in order to make the young to conform to ethics of social or political code, favourable conditions will have to be created. Apart from recasting the educational structure, social milieu has to be trimmed.

The rebellious attitude of the youth is a global phenomenon and its causes must lie in the environmental mal-adjustments. Social life, at large, encourages spirit of adventures fosters love of novelty, and affords enjoyment of spare moments. Man has more confidence in himself than he ever had ; triumphs in science have added glory to man. T e pace of development has been so quick that every moment we feel fed up with the prevailing system and crave for a better one. This implies that we are quicker to seize the weaknesses of a system or an idea or philosophy. On the other hand educa-

tional systems, social structures and even political organisations have been traditional, authoritarian and almost worn out. Clearly there is a big gap between the life and circumstances at the educational institutions and life, at large. Education, as it is available, does not allow the students to be adventurous, novel, and even eccentric in acquiring knowledge. There is authoritarianism, which evolves personality cult, there are laws to be remembered and theories to be accepted. The personality of the individual is coloured and is not allowed to have its flowering ; why should it be thrust upon the pupils that democracy is the best form of government ? Why should they be asked to accept the experiences of their elders as authoritative ? Education thus, supresses the self of the young and more so if it becomes a hand maid of the politicians. This variance brings a split in the personality which results in accepting instigation of vested interests as stimulus to free thinking. We will have to bring education in harmony with the social and political developments rather with the trends of possible developments. Fictche laid it down that education should aim at destroying free will, so that, after pupils have left school, they shall be incapable, throughout the rest of their lives, of thinking or acting otherwise than as their school masters have wished. He thought so because he felt that even if all are miserable, all will believe themselves happy because the government will tell them that they are so. Are human beings to be chiselled and shaped to suit the political system ? Political institutions are meant for human beings and human beings are not meant for these institutions. It is here that the education goes wrong, it is here that the young discovers an unbridgeable gulf between the life at home or club and the life at the educational institution and vice versa. The boy who has been taught at home that it is wicked to swear, easily loses his belief when he finds that his school fellows whom he most admires are addicted to blasphemy. Similarly those students who taught to pass critical judgements on Shakespeare, Karl Marx, Aristotle and others find it difficult to criticise their parents, teachers or superiors. Human beings have capacities for spontaneous enjoyment and instinctive reactions and education should develop this capacity instead of moulding it into a pattern. This gap has been increased by the parents' preoccupation with their business and the consequent indifference towards their children. In the absence of the parents' shaping influence, students

imbibe much from the social milieu as he explores it while travelling in a bus, sitting in a theatre or dancing in a club.

Moreover, in our day-to-day life, we are heading towards easy and comfortable life. Diseases have been less painful, the inclemencies of the weather leave us no more uncomfortable and have innumerable sources of entertainments and diversions. The attention of a young man is claimed by so many absorbing affairs and he cannot give single-minded devotion to his studies. Consequently their intellectual make up is of a strange type. They are not trained to withhold judgement in the absence of evidence and are often led astray by cocksure prophets. In the 20th century there are many slogans, which have a ring of certainty about it, for example : Liquidate the Capitalists and survivorsw ill enjoy eternal bliss" or "Exterminate the jews and every one will be virtuous", or "kill croats and let the serbs reign"........... there can be called bloodthirsty non-sense. Otherwise also they refuse to accept the exacting norms of education. Consequently there are strikes to protest against stiff questions, against restrictions to maintain discipline and against the lack of amenities like bus service etc.

In their unconscious mind lurks the fear of unemployment. If education does not qualify them to become earning members of the society after finishing academic career they are sure to become frustrated. When education is not purposive and meaningful it will be thrown into the remote corners of human thought. So the students take education as something accessory and side-track of human life. As their education makes them aware of their rights and duties, they think that the authorities which do not provide them with jobs, have not discharged their functions. The germ of the revolting spirit is born.

Politicians, in a growing democracy do not shed their selfish interests, for them politics is the spring board to jump to power. They have no scruples to lose, no ideals to realise if they are able to come to power. So they exploit the young, who are immatured in thinking, for their personal ends.

Still we should not forget that students are 'not a social class' and that any theory which seeks to analyse the student's situation

according to the norms valid for groups organised on the basis of economic interests is either mischievous or naive. True education in afct, pools the intellectual and emotional resources which then are turned on problems arising out of his membership of a society. Thus a student will meet his obligations to society in two ways : first by finding out for himself the factor that perpetuate distortion in social life and account for avoidable privations to individuals and secondly by acquiring, after analysis of social conditions the means to effect desirable transformation. The students should set themselves against obscrutanist practices like dowry or unabashed exploitation and economic inequality which pervade our social life. So their energies are to be harnessed and channelised for social gains. It is seen students, movement in Bihar and Gujarat constituted not "forces of change" but of "reinvigorated conservatism",

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